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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance of the 1890s

Ferguson, Megan

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Megan Ferguson

2011

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Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance of the 1890s

Megan C. Ferguson

Thesis for Doctorate of Philosophy in History

University of Dundee

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Introduction

“our Scottish, our Celtic Renaissance”

Patrick Geddes, “The Scots Renaissance” in *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, Spring 1895.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Patrick Geddes’s Celtic Renaissance in 1890s Edinburgh, to judge its place within the context of Scotland and within the wider context of the *fin de siècle* world, to examine its purpose, participants, and output, and to analyse the end result.

The Celtic Renaissance was a small cultural movement based in 1890s Edinburgh and led by the charismatic polymath, botanist, sociologist and town planner Patrick Geddes (1854-1932). The Celtic Renaissance was formed in the unique circumstances of *fin de siècle* Edinburgh, circumstances which included the Arts and Crafts movement as well as the movements of cultural nationalism of various European groups.¹

The thesis was originally inspired by the fact that there was limited work on the sole topic of the Celtic Renaissance. The current level of existing work which refers to

¹ It was Geddes who first used the title “The Celtic Renaissance” for the movement which surrounded *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* and Ramsay Garden on the Castle Esplanade. The word Renaissance itself was used perhaps to differentiate the Celtic Renaissance from the Italian Renaissance, as it was of an altogether different essence; Geddes sought to use the Celtic past as an inspiration, not to revive it.

the Celtic Renaissance both in passing and very specifically is quite high. However, the work is usually divided under many different topics, and this thesis was a chance to take a view of Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance as a single entity, and task both daunting and delightful, as was Geddes himself.

There is no scarcity of printed sources which include information on Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance, but there is no one volume that takes a long view of both together. Most particularly in sources focusing on Geddes, the Celtic Renaissance, and Geddes's work within it, is sometimes minimised. This means that while generally social, cultural and art history works focus on parts of the Celtic Renaissance, sociological, town planning and urban history works focus on Geddes apart from his work with the Celtic Renaissance.

Geddes and his associates in the Celtic Renaissance, most particularly John Duncan (1866-1945) and William Sharp (1855-1905), were all prolific writers and there remains a wealth of archival material from all three. Therefore it is not a lack of sources which had to be overcome in the research of this thesis, but rather a glut of them instead. Sorting the incidental information from the kernels of importance was (and remains) a difficult task.

This thesis will assess Patrick Geddes's Celtic Renaissance against criteria of nationalist revival to ascertain if it was indeed a revival (as it has often been called), it will assess the Celtic Renaissance against the Arts and Crafts movement in Great Britain to ascertain whether or not it fits the criteria of belonging to that movement, it will assess the Celtic Renaissance against other Scottish art and cultural groups to see if it shows significant similarities or differences, and it will assess the relative success of the Celtic Renaissance in its achievement of its goals.

The Celtic Renaissance in Scotland was at its height in the middle to late 1890s. Headed by Patrick Geddes, the time period in which the group worked provided fertile soil for its development. Geddes's life was an intricate web of connections between his many projects. All of his projects and programs in Edinburgh are so closely linked that it is difficult to divide them in order to systematically examine their breadth, their impact and their significance. In order to impose some sort of order on his projects they will be approached chronologically wherever possible. What needs to be determined is the significance of the Celtic Renaissance; if it had an identity and strength of its own, or it was merely an eccentric offshoot of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The *Fin de Siècle*

The period from the 1850s to the end of the nineteenth century was characterised by new movements in art, culture, politics, science, industry, and the exploration of frontiers both geographical and intellectual. Often the term *fin de siècle* is used as an

historical or intellectual shorthand to refer to certain attitudes of the time. The historian Holbrook Jackson explained it as “[t]he term [that] became a fashion”.² The *fin de siècle* had certain characteristics which were common throughout Britain, Europe and America.

As technology advanced people began to question long held beliefs, intellectual, scientific, political and religious. The *fin de siècle* was a time of exploration in these fields, as well as in art, architecture, culture and nationalism. The *fin de siècle* was characterised by both boredom and excitement. The “world of the weary dandy with the cult of the self”³ existed alongside the “not world weary but enterprising”⁴ man who sought to explore new places “to gather new inspiration and impressions”.⁵

The Celtic Renaissance, the Celtic Revival

Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan classified the Celtic Renaissance as a part of the wider Arts and Crafts movement and specifically part of the “Edinburgh style” which existed and also, more specifically, as part of what helped to form the Patrick Geddes-led Celtic renaissance.⁶ Cumming additionally called the group Geddes’s “cultural ‘Renaissance’”⁷ and while citing the strength of the influence of Arts and Crafts ideals on the group, made clear that the Celtic Renaissance did maintain a sort

² Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, (New York, 1966), p. 20. This work was originally published in 1918.

³ Ibid, p. 10.

⁴ Ibid, p. 9.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ E. Cumming and W. Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, (London, 1991) p. 87.

⁷ E. Cumming, “Edinburgh”, in N. Bowe and C. Cumming (eds.), *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1885-1925*, (Dublin, 1998) p. 24.

of autonomy. Janice Helland hesitated to place the Celtic Renaissance in one artistic movement but instead facilitated the idea that a “Celtic revival flourished during the 1890s”⁸ across many movements and that “[t]he art community [as a whole] participated in this blending of culture and politics that sought to configure Scottish identity.”⁹

Duncan Macmillan related the Arts and Crafts movement to the Celtic Renaissance much more closely, calling Geddes the “Scottish spokesman”¹⁰ for Arts and Crafts, who gave “special thrust to its ideals through his vision of society.”¹¹ Macmillan found Geddes to be a profound influence on Scottish art, perhaps because of his involvement in the public mural schemes of the Edinburgh Social Union, which embodied the Arts and Crafts ideals of art for the masses.¹² However, additionally, Macmillan found Geddes’s art patron role as vital to the development of Scottish identity, Geddes’s use of the artist as an interpreter of identity transformed the artist into “an agent [...] of self-esteem and pride in a nation.”¹³ Macmillan called the art of the Celtic Renaissance, particularly that shown in its periodical, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, to be “unambiguously modern even though it includes Celtic elements.”¹⁴ Perhaps this was Geddes’s compromise, paying homage to the past but creating something modern. Murdo Macdonald also found the roots of the Celtic Renaissance in the Arts and Crafts movement, finding like Macmillan, that Geddes was concerned with furthering Arts and

⁸ J. Helland, *The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald*, (Manchester, 1996) p. 70.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century 1890-2001*, (Edinburgh, 2001) p. 13.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 20.

¹² Macmillan mentions the public murals in particular, Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century*, p. 20-21. Geddes’s influence on Scottish Art was also shown through his involvement in the Edinburgh Congress of The National Association for the Advancement of the Art and its Application to Industry (1889).

¹³ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁴ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000) p. 298.

Crafts ideas, specifically through the Edinburgh Social Union.¹⁵ John Morrison also agreed that the Celtic Renaissance “had very strong ties”¹⁶ to the Arts and Crafts movement. Only grail historian Christine Poulson goes so far as to call John Duncan a “Scottish Arts and Crafts”¹⁷ artist.

From the other end of the 1890s art movement spectrum, William Hardie found the influences of the Celtic Renaissance to reside in the Vienna Secession and other European movements more closely related to Art Nouveau than Arts and Crafts.¹⁸ Art historians David and Francina Irwin considered the Celtic Renaissance as the Edinburgh counterpart to the Art Nouveau movement in Glasgow.¹⁹

Rather than contrasting, these views complement each other, finding various influences in the small and complex movement of the Celtic Renaissance. While historians often attribute or designate the Celtic Renaissance to a larger movement, it may also be seen as its own movement closely connected to, but not as a part of, the other movements of the time. John Morrison chose to divide what he designated

¹⁵ M. Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000) p. 151-152.

¹⁶ J. Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting 1800-1920* (Edinburgh, 2003) p. 200.

¹⁷ C. Poulson, *The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art 1840-1920* (Manchester, 1999), p. 137.

¹⁸ W. Hardie, *Scottish Painting 1837-Present*, (London, 1990) p. 122.

¹⁹ D. and F. Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, (London, 1975) p. 395. In particular this considers the Art Nouveau movement in Glasgow to be the Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, Frances Macdonald and Herbert Nair, as well as the Glasgow School of Art.

“Geddes’ ‘Renaissance’”²⁰ from the Celtic Revival in Edinburgh. Divisions like this can completely obscure the tenuous ties of the Celtic Renaissance and undermine its impact, or they can help to strengthen the lines which delineate the Celtic Renaissance from the general influence of 1890s Celticism.

Taking these viewpoints into consideration, the current state of knowledge then either puts the Celtic Renaissance in what is seen as the closest large movement or divides it up so much that it seems the participants were working on their own with very fragile contact between them. What is most significant about these views is that for the most part the Celtic Renaissance is considered an offshoot of a larger movement, often the Arts and Crafts movement. Viewing the Celtic Renaissance as part of the Arts and Crafts movement can obscure it and remove many of the smaller group’s distinguishing characteristics. Therefore, in viewing the Celtic Renaissance as a separate entity there may be valuable information to be found as to its output, aims and ideals, if indeed they do differ from those of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The Celtic Renaissance was developed through a combination of Geddes’s projects in the Edinburgh Social Union, Ramsay Garden, University Hall, the Old Edinburgh School of Art, *The Evergreen*, and Geddes and Colleagues Publishing Company. The combination of these projects brought together the people involved and

²⁰ Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, p. 204. Morrison did not designate precisely what he saw as the Celtic Revival, just that “Geddes’ ‘Renaissance’ was highly influential on the Celtic revival as it appeared in Edinburgh”, Ibid.

the Celtic Renaissance sprang up from the circumstances. Historians can misread the Celtic Renaissance through dissociating certain areas from the whole and by limiting boundaries narrowly and concentrating on their own area of expertise. While it is logical for historians to concentrate on areas of their own research specialties, over time the gulf dividing Geddes's projects has become more and more evolved with each historian's individual view.

This thesis will examine Geddes's projects in Edinburgh, including Ramsay Garden, University Hall, the Summer School Meetings, the Old Edinburgh School of Art, the Patrick Geddes and Colleagues publishing company, and *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, to introduce the information about these areas to the thesis and to question how they relate to the Celtic Renaissance. *The Evergreen* contains the most material that relates to the Celtic Renaissance and that will be examined through who its contributors were, what their submissions were, and the overriding themes of *The Evergreen*. This will be followed by analysis of what was found, as well as the deeper analysis of whether or not connections existed between all of these projects, or if they were, as has been previously thought, separated from each other. The idea of connections will be also explored in regard to the different Scottish art movements in the small window of 1892-1897. Finally, it will be determined whether or not boundaries placed on historical investigations have led to a misreading of the Celtic Renaissance.

Chapter 1: European Context

As the nineteenth century drew to a close and the millennium approached, the *fin de siècle* witnessed a rise in cultural and political nationalism activities throughout Britain and Europe. The cultural nationalism which characterised the *fin de siècle* included the revival of vernacular languages, folk arts and crafts, vernacular (or vernacular inspired) architecture, as well as folk myths, legends and history.

The nature of these cultural nationalism revivals was primarily to provide an identity to a group (cultural, political or ethnic) which had been either subjugated or homogenised into a larger whole, often, though not always, within a political state.

The Idea of National Cultural Revival

The New Oxford Dictionary of English defines the verb revive as to “restore to life or consciousness”, to “regain life, consciousness or strength”, to “give new strength or energy to”, or to “restore the interest in or popularity of”.²¹ There are significant differences between the dictionary definition of a revival, and its architectural and political definitions. Anthony Smith, historian of nationalism, does not use the term revival, instead he has used more concrete terms such as “regeneration” and “reinterpretation”, to when describing aspects found in what others categorise as

²¹ *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, (Oxford, 2001) p.1589

revivals.²² Smith described the aim of regeneration as “to recreate the heroic spirit (and the heroes) that animated ‘our ancestors’ in some past golden age; and descent is traced, not through family pedigrees but through the persistence of certain kinds of ‘virtue’ or other distinctive cultural qualities, be it of language, customs, religion, institutions, or more general personal attributes.”²³ Figures from the myth of a collective past are resurrected, and often invented to demonstrate or illustrate the “heroic spirit” of the “past golden age”,²⁴ and often making “no great distinction [...] between myth and history”.²⁵ The myth then becomes the history.

The cases of Finland’s *Kalevala*, Scotland’s *The Poems of Ossian* and Ireland’s Ulster cycle are those where myths have become history.²⁶ Claiming a background featuring heroes which define valued cultural virtues is often used as a way to add gravitas to a culture. It is a way of showing that a culture not only has a heroic past, but that this past includes stories and virtues equal to or surpassing those of the benchmark cultures of ancient Greece and Rome.

Scholars of nations and nationalism, particularly cultural nationalism, have categorised the many different factors needed for a group to achieve a political or cultural revival (the reawakening of aspects from the collective cultural past).

²² A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford, 1999) chapters 2 and 4.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66

²⁶ Smith particularly references the *Kalevala* and the legends of the Ulster cycle throughout *Myths and Memories of the Nation* many other countries had similar myths that became a part of their history.

According to John Hutchinson, within cultural nationalism (including revivals) there is a relationship between artists and historians as leaders together in “a movement of moral regeneration which seeks to re-unite the different aspects of the nation- traditional and modern, agriculture and industry, science and religion- by returning the creative life-principle to the nation.”²⁷ This relationship served to marry the past and the present in a way that shows the past as useful, even integral, to the present.

Miroslav Hroch’s work on revivals in small nations explained that for a revival, cultural or political, to take hold, the one principle aspect it cannot exist without is the “national consciousness, i.e. an awareness of membership in the nation, coupled with a view that this membership is an inherently valuable quality.”²⁸ Additionally, the “national consciousness [needs] to manifest itself among a sufficiently numerous group of members of the oppressed nationality.”²⁹ Hroch defined different types of small nations and their political and cultural situations, and the definition most relevant to *fin de siècle* Britain is one of levels of oppression: at the high end of the scale nations are completely marginalised or usurped, at the low end of the scale of oppression is “the condition of political and economic dependence and cultural stagnation suffered by once independent nations.”³⁰ This was the type of low-level oppression which may have affected Scotland, Ireland and Wales, coupled with degrees of assimilation, which Hroch categorised as either temporary or permanent, and in the case of specific

²⁷ J. Hutchinson, “Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration” in J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, (Oxford, 1994) p. 123.

²⁸ M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, (New York, 2000) p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

linguistic assimilation, “did not always strike a decisive blow against the further development of a nationality.”³¹ This “oppression” could be mild, or even non-existent. All that is required is for an actual or perceived enemy to react against. The reaction against oppression is once again a way of defining cultural boundaries, defining self from others. So, to summarize, Hroch finds three things necessary for revival; national consciousness, popular support for national consciousness, and a level of perceived oppression to react against.

If one combines Hroch’s idea on the appeal of a revival with Hutchinson’s idea on leaders of cultural nationalism, it seems that revivals would in all probability be led by artists and historians. Smith’s interpretations of regeneration support this as well, with all three ideas together combined to form an idea of a revival that appeals to the public on the basis of reinterpreted legends of a heroic age lead by artists and historians.

The only aspect not yet included here which may be considered a cornerstone of revival is that of a linguistic revival integrated within a cultural revival. Hroch contended that linguistic differences between ethnic or cultural groups did not necessarily encourage, to any great degree, either conflict or assimilation.³² Hroch also said that linguistic assimilation is not irreversible, and that in the nations he cites, both Ireland and Norway re-established their vernacular language, instituting Gaelic (as an addition to English, not a replacement, though Irish was a requirement for civil servants

³¹ Ibid. In the case of linguistic assimilation Hroch cites Ireland and Norway specifically.

³² Ibid., pp. 164-166.

post-1920) in Ireland and Norwegian (to replace Danish) in Norway.³³ However, others have the opinion that language is a key factor in nationalism and national revival. Smith found that the concept of nationalism depends “on the introduction of new concept, languages and symbols.”³⁴ In a specific instance, like that of Finland, Russia’s encouragement of a national Finnish language helped to form the country and to later develop its cultural and political nationalism.³⁵ Eric Hobsbawm stated that in the period 1870-1914 “for most people nationalism alone was not enough”³⁶ and that it needed to be combined with language and culture to provide a powerful attraction to the masses. His opinion was that “[l]inguistic and ethnic nationalism thus reinforce each other.”³⁷ Hobsbawm also found that in this period “the call for an independent state territory seemed increasingly inseparable from language”³⁸ such as Gaelic for the Irish and Hebrew for the Zionists,³⁹ and that finally, “[l]inguist nationalism was the creation of people who wrote and read, not of people who spoke.”⁴⁰ This coincides with Hutchinson’s opinion that cultural nationalist movements were often lead by artists and historians. Thus there is agreement that it is primarily the intelligentsia that sought linguistic, as well as cultural and national, revival, whereas those who lived the (rural, primitive) life and spoke the language were rarely a factor in seeking revival.

³³ Ibid. In these cases, Ireland and Norway, the re-establishment of traditional languages is part and party of cultural revival. In the above countries, it was accompanied by resurgences of the primitive native culture.

³⁴ A. Smith, *National Identity*, (London, 1991) p. 74.

³⁵ Matti Klinge, ““Let Us Be Finns”- The Birth of Finland’s National Culture”, in Rosalind Mitchison, ed., *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe*, (Edinburgh, 1980) pp. 69-72.

³⁶ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London, 2002) p. 161.

³⁷ E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge, 1990) p. 109.

³⁸ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p 158.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p 147.

Though a national language has been identified as necessary, revival required more than just the existence of a language, just as Hobsbawm highlighted the need for more than just the bare existence of nationalism. Edward W. Said found that a national language “without the practice of a national culture” was “inert”⁴¹ and often failed as a tool of mobilisation. Successful revival of a language often depended on the same criteria as did that of a political or cultural nationalist movement; its basis of appeal to the people. This can be seen in Britain in the language revivals of the late 1800s. Wales had retained the Welsh language and Ireland had retained theirs to a lesser degree. Ireland attached the revival of Irish Gaelic to their nationalist movement in the 1880s, and once they had attained independence the linguistic movement was pursued less aggressively as a part of the political agenda. Language was a bond that held together those who spoke it, an edict that applied to the rich as well as the poor. Cultural historian Neil Kent pointed this out in reference to Sweden (already mentioned as a dominant power over Finland and Norway in the past), citing that wealthier Swedish families often employed French governesses, thus raising the children in a French-speaking environment.⁴² This “helped to bond the aristocracy and gentry together, linking those of similar background together throughout Europe.”⁴³ It is interesting that, for example, the wealthy families of Europe who were brought up as French speakers would have immediately have a common bond in exclusion of a large percent of the underclass, the same way the small vernacular languages were spoken primarily by poorer people to the exclusion of the wealthy (usually their employers). Kent attributes

⁴¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (London, 1994) p. 260.

⁴² N. Kent, *The Soul of the North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries, 1700-1900*, (London, 2000) p. 158.

⁴³ Ibid.

this same bond to the written word to the literate, which was a very high portion of the Scandinavian countries.⁴⁴

The 1890s hosted a variety of movements of cultural nationalism throughout Eastern and Western Europe, Britain and America. The revival of language, folk culture, myth and legend, and the basis of all that, a national identity or nationalist feeling, was shared by many cultures. Whether it was to establish the identity of a culture overshadowed by the empire it was a part of, to create an identity for a “new” nation, to separate a culture from that of an existing nation, or to forge a new nation based on cultural similarities; many groups chose to do so through a revival of some kind, be it language, art, literature, architecture and/or politics. Like Ireland’s movements of cultural nationalism and its search for identity both within and without the British Empire, European nations and groups faced the same identity crisis within other empires. The reason that groups chose to pursue cultural nationalism at this specific time is nebulous, but one defining factor could be that one group asserting their unique identity caused others to do likewise.

The idea of defining one’s country, area, culture and/or ethnicity from that of one’s neighbours to prove individual identity was popularised through revivals. This may have been because doing so it was also a way of demonstrating that in the past a

⁴⁴ Ibid. Kent also emphasised that in Northern countries “reading assumed an importance unrivalled in countries in warmer and more southern climes” (Ibid.).

group had been defined by certain characteristics which could be revived, this also had the added mystique of showing ownership over traditions and traditional life.

Science and Religion in the *Fin de Siècle*

A significant part of the culture of the *fin de siècle* as a whole was the relationship between the development of science and its effect (or non-effect) on belief in organised religion. The cultural changes of the *fin de siècle* influenced many aspects of the period, including religion. Darwinism, though established prior to the 1890s, still had an influence on the *fin de siècle*. Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) work *On the Origin of the Species* (1872) questioned the certainty of creationism, which spawned intellectual debate on issues of religion. Darwinism was used as an argument both for and against organised religion in the *fin de siècle*. Historian Arthur Williamson found that "Darwinian evolution did not necessarily trouble so time-oriented a faith as historical Protestantism."⁴⁵ Williamson cited the stumbling-block of Natural Selection as the "insurmountable problem"⁴⁶ between Darwinism and religion. Darwin's theory focused on the evolution of the species, citing how species evolved over time to adapt to their environment. This theory seemed to be, according to Williamson, contradictory to the tenets of Christian faith. However, by glossing over the objectionable theory of natural selection, Darwinism was transmuted into Social Darwinism.⁴⁷ Social Darwinism became an asset to Christianity- often used as a support for ideas of

⁴⁵ A. Williamson, *Apocalypse Then: Prophecy & the Making of the Modern World*, (Westport, Connecticut, 2008) p. 293.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Christian superiority and imperial expansion. Natural selection was not the only obstacle for a peaceful co-existence between Darwinism and Christianity, “Darwin was wrong not only because his theory dissented from literal statements in scripture, but because of the progressivist [sic] vision it seemed to imply.”⁴⁸ Science and technology were full of progress, in theory as well as in more tangible goods and services. Progress could spur on the fears of the approaching millennium, and consequently, missionary zeal for converting non-believers to the Christian faith.⁴⁹ Historian Owen Chadwick’s argument is in agreement with Williamson’s, he stated that in the nineteenth century “Faith is stationary, science [is] progressive. Therefore motionless faith and moving knowledge are continuously at war.”⁵⁰ The historian Walter E. Houghton made similar findings, explaining that in many cases religion in the Victorian period was a belief system in which “habit and training played an important part.”⁵¹ Houghton believed a silent withering of belief took place, in many cases without the knowledge of those whose belief had faded.⁵²

In contrast to those historians in agreement with the ideas of Williamson, some other historians, such as Eric Hobsbawm, found that the progress of the age caused a “dramatic retreat of traditional religion”, particularly in the upper classes of Europe.⁵³

Hobsbawm proposed that it was education, not science, which filled the void caused by

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 294.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ O. Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1975) p. 162. This conclusion is found in relation to the work of John William Draper, particularly his *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York, 1874). Draper’s work was translated into many languages and went on the 1876 list of prohibited books. (Chadwick, pp. 161-162)

⁵¹ W. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870*, (New Haven, 1971) p. 397

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p. 264.

progress.⁵⁴ He found the stratification of classes allowed for both a waxing and a waning in belief, while the upper classes questioned Christianity, “[t]he great majority of human beings, including the virtual totality of its female members, remained committed to a belief in the divinities or spirits of whatever was the religion or [of] their locality and community, and to its rites.”⁵⁵

Philosophy progressed alongside science and often caused unrest with the Christian faith. In his 1882 work *The Gay Science*, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) infamously introduced the story of the madman walking through town with a lantern in search of God.⁵⁶ The madman eventually declared, “‘God is dead! God remains dead! And we have killed him!’”⁵⁷ Rather than delivering a deliberate slur on Christianity, or on organised religion generally, Nietzsche instead expressed a lament on the way he believed that religious belief had faltered in the wake of the technological and scientific advances of the 1880s. In a prophetic gesture the madman carries on, the crowd around him has ignored him and he said, “‘I have come too early,’ he then said; ‘my time is not yet’”,⁵⁸ perhaps foreshadowing a greater loss of faith to come. The death of God featured heavily in Nietzsche’s works, and in 1887 he expounded on the idea in detail, “the belief that the Christian God has become unbelievable- is already starting to cast its first shadows over Europe.”⁵⁹ Nietzsche’s work is not just that of one questioning man, he saw that his ideas were widely spread, even if not widely believed. His work is

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 263.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 264.

⁵⁶ Much like the Platonic story about a man with the lantern searching for an honest man.

⁵⁷ F. Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, ed. Bernard Williams, (Cambridge, 2001) book three, 126, p. 120.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., book five, 343, p. 199.

significant because he was, according to the historian Owen Chadwick, “[t]he extremist who was typical of no one, and yet (because an extremist), symbolized [sic] the entire mood”⁶⁰ of the *fin de siècle*. Williamson found another consequence of Nietzsche’s work, “to make all significant truth claims untestable and thereby equally valid.”⁶¹

However, perhaps the power of religion had not weakened, but had instead merely undergone a series of fluctuations in strength. Philosophers like Max Nordau (1849-1923) and Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) wrote about the perceived change in religion; both believed it was the culmination of a gradual change in cultural environment.⁶² In Nordau’s works like *Degeneration* (1895) and *Interpretations of History* (1910) he faced philosophical questions and assessed the meanings of contemporary movements and the questions of Decadence, history and religion. While advances like Darwinism opened scientific frontiers, man was left with a void where his beliefs used to reside, and often where his old way of life had as well. Modern technology led to increased migration, both national and international, for employment. Progress and the *fin de siècle* also saw the beginning of the end for some traditional crafts and ways of life, most specifically, of course, from areas which had had their population depleted from migration.

⁶⁰ Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 240.

⁶¹ Williamson, *Apocalypse Then*, p. 297.

⁶² W. Laqueur, “Fin-de-siècle: Once More with Feeling”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 31, number 1, January 1996, p. 16.

However, ideas and philosophical works like these did not stop society from blaming the cultural climate of the 1880s and 1890s for a loss of religious belief. Even so, art of the *fin de siècle* period focused on religious subjects as much as it had in earlier periods. Either this was because nothing fundamental had changed or because the artists of the *fin de siècle* sought to demystify religion through their works.

Art and Cultural Nationalism

In the *fin de siècle*, the increase of cultural and political nationalism coupled with the increase of theological debate created a void of what was once held to be certain. This void encouraged new thought and action to fill it. One practical application through which people could express new cultural and/or national identity was that of art and handicraft. It offered a “safe” mode of expression (craftspeople are not normally persecuted and/or prosecuted for their craft) and a form with which to express national and cultural identity. Simply, it was an easy and practical way that people could show their differences from “other.”

One place at which any culture could begin was through their myths and legends. In Finland this was found in the *Kalevala*, in Germany the *Nibelungendlied*, in Norway the *Edda*, in England the Arthurian legends, in Scotland and Ireland the legend of Ossian/Oisín. The one commonality between all these legends is that they explain the creation of the cultural past of their area. These legends offered a connection to the noble past, heroes and heroic virtues- this is sometimes referred to a nation’s or ethnic

area's primitive culture. Myths and legends which are particular to certain culture offer an essential basis for cultural revival. They are a rallying point with which the culture can recall its past glory and which it can use to differentiate itself from other cultures.

Immediately preceding the *fin de siècle* there were three artistic groups of particular significance to this thesis; the Aesthetes, the Decadents and the Pre-Raphaelites. The Aesthetic movement in Britain was based on the idea of appreciating the beauty of everyday life, and that beauty as an end unto itself. Those often associated with the Aesthetes include Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)⁶³ and Walter Pater (1839-1894), as well as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) and Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898).⁶⁴ Though the Pre-Raphaelites were often associated with Aestheticism, this was usually because they were attacked by moralists as being Aesthetes, rather than because they actually subscribed to Aesthetic ideals.⁶⁵ Rossetti, for one, "was convinced that subject was more important than mere form and that '*l'art pour l'art*' was a meaningless doctrine."⁶⁶ Aestheticism had lost most of its force by the *fin de siècle* period, However it was a definite influence on the Arts and Crafts movement's ideals on beauty in everyday life.

⁶³ Wilde was associated across both the Aesthetic and Decadent movements of the 1890s.

⁶⁴ William Sharp kept up correspondence with both Pater and Rossetti, and published a book on Rossetti (1882).

⁶⁵ Interestingly, Rossetti was usually condemned for his verse rather than his art.

⁶⁶ K. Beckson, Introduction, *Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s: An Anthology of British Poetry and Prose*, ed. K. Beckson, (Chicago, 1981) p. XXV.

The British Decadents based their ideas on the earlier French Decadents who had sought to provide an alternative to Realism. The tenants of Aestheticism and Decadence in France included sensationalism, a dash of paganism,⁶⁷ and a bit of anarchy, strictly in the sense of class and individual freedoms.⁶⁸ Decadence in Britain was characterised by an increased tolerance “of novelty in art and ideas that it would seem as though the declining century wished to make amends for several decades of intellectual and artistic monotony.”⁶⁹ Usually associated with the British Decadents were Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898), Wilde for his witty fiction and drama⁷⁰ and Beardsley as editor and illustrator of *The Yellow Book*. *The Yellow Book* provided a window into British Decadence with its articles on art, nature, society and literature. All three names, Wilde, Beardsley, and *The Yellow Book* became associated with the idea of challenging established values in art and literature combined with the desire to shock their audience with erotic art and taboo-topic opinion pieces. This desire for sensationalism⁷¹ was as much a part of the *fin de siècle* as technological and scientific advances. The short-lived British periodical *The Chameleon* (1894) explained the benefits of the existence of the average man who disagreed with the Aesthetes and/or Decadents when contributor Oscar Wilde wrote in it that ““it would be very sad if there were no one left to shock.””⁷²

⁶⁷ W. Gaunt, *The Aesthetic Adventure*, (Middlesex, 1957) p. 12.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 13

⁶⁹ H. Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of the Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, (New York, 1966) pp. 17-18.

⁷⁰ As well as scandals in his personal life.

⁷¹ L. Brake, *Print in Transition 1850-1910*, (Hampshire, 2001) p. 166.

⁷² Beckson, Introduction, *Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s*, ed. Beckson, p. XXII, fn. 3.

Holbrook Jackson labelled the 1890s as “already the afternoon of the Beardsley period.”⁷³ The passing of the period had strong relationship to the trial of Oscar Wilde (1896) and Aubrey Beardsley’s dismissal as editor of *The Yellow Book* (also in 1896). Because the Decadents had provoked such a strong reaction from society it was natural that the artistic reaction was at least in part a return to simplicity and honesty, two key factors in Arts and Crafts.⁷⁴

The Arts and Crafts Movement

The Arts and Crafts movement began as a traditional revival movement, instigated by the dissatisfaction of artists with the arts culture of the 1870s (the movement lasted until the c.1920s).⁷⁵ The Arts and Crafts movement began in England, where it was, through practice and theory, a return to the handicrafts of the pre-industrial period through art and architecture. Arts and Crafts gradually spread throughout Britain and Ireland to Europe and America. In the beginning Arts and Crafts was England-based and England-specific but it was easily adapted to other cultures, particularly those of Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Finland and Norway. It was an ideal movement to attach to cultural nationalism because it could utilise a nation’s specific history and crafts into its style, especially concentrating on the myths and legends of an area/culture,

⁷³ Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties*, p. 17.

⁷⁴ There is also the Arts and Crafts return to traditionalism and nobility in handicrafts, two sure antidotes to Decadence.

⁷⁵ According to P. Rose, “*The Studio* and the Arts and Crafts Movement”, *Studio International, Special Centenary Number*, vol. 201, no. 1022/1023, 1993, p. 11, the term “Arts and Crafts” was coined by bookbinder T.J. Cobden-Sanderson after the creation of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

particularly those with primitive origin myths (*Kalevala*, *Neibelungenlied*, *Edda*, Ossian and Arthur).

The output of Arts and Crafts consisted of furniture, tapestries and wallpaper as well as other home décor and household objects. Arts and Crafts also developed into an architectural style. One of the main ideals of Arts and Crafts was to bring beautiful and useful objects into the homes of average people, designers hoped to enhance their lives that way, or in the words of William Morris (1834-1896), to redress “the lack of beauty in modern life (of decoration in the best sense of the word)”.⁷⁶

The Arts and Crafts movement began in England under William Morris’s leadership. The movement advocated a return to the handicrafts of the pre-industrial period, a reunion of the maker and his craft, the re-creation of a medieval communal society, and an elevation of the status of the decorative arts to that held by fine arts. At its conception, Arts and Crafts was considered to be “a modern and at the same time a wholly national art.”⁷⁷ Morris shaped Arts and Crafts through his company, Morris and Co., and his involvement as a writer and a speaker for the movement. Morris mixed a reactionary view of industrialisation with the influence of England’s medieval past.

⁷⁶ W. Morris, preface, *Arts and Crafts Essays*, (1893 rpt, New York, 1977) p. viii.

⁷⁷ H. Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and its Present Condition*, (Santa Monica, 1994) p. 67.

What later became a movement began in a single house. Morris made a statement immediately c.1860 with the architecture of his Red House in Kent designed by himself and the architect Philip Webb (1831-1915). Webb and Morris “were especially committed to unpretentiousness and honesty”⁷⁸ in architecture. Webb designed Red House for Morris and his wife Jane Burden (1839-1914). After its completion, Morris, Webb and Morris’s friends, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones, decorated the house with murals, tapestries and painted furniture. The Arts and Crafts movement was born out of their combined efforts and took off when Morris, Rossetti, Peter Patrick Marshall, Charles Joseph Faulkner (1834-1892), Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893), Edward Burne-Jones and Philip Webb formed Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. in 1862.⁷⁹ With the creation of this company, and its later incarnation as just plain Morris and Co.,⁸⁰ Morris brought Arts and Crafts to the forefront of style. His designs in textiles, wallpaper, and book design inspired others in a similar vein. Morris was not only an inspiration behind the movement but also a spokesman for it in his various conferences, books and pamphlets.

Those involved in Arts and Crafts were varied in lifestyle and social class. The leaders of the movement, like Morris and his contemporaries, C.R. Ashbee (1863-1942) A.H. Mackmurdo (1851-1942) and W.R. Lethaby (1857-1931), began businesses that

⁷⁸ E. Cumming and W. Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, (London, 1995) p. 15.

⁷⁹ United States Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Boxes F, G, and L, and Ibid., pp. 15-17.

⁸⁰ The members of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. went their separate ways, and in 1875 Morris formed his own company called Morris and Co. (Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, p. 17). It’s generally known that Morris’s wife Jane and Rossetti were having an affair around this time and that this may have influenced the break-up of the company and the creation of Morris & Co.

also became a way of life. They created guilds and workshops that were usually based either on a type of work, like Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft (1886), or others which were based on a style, like Mackmurdo's Century Guild (1887).⁸¹ The leaders were mostly upper and middle classes. Their followers were mostly lower class, and usually male as well.⁸² There was a strong female participation in Arts and Crafts, but it usual existed in the background of the movement. Women were not allowed in some of the Arts and Crafts classes, nor were they allowed in the all-male guilds.⁸³ However, women did in some cases have their own counterpart guilds, like that of the Guild of Women Bookbinders (1897).⁸⁴ Arts and Crafts provided female artists with opportunities which had not existed before. Their art and creative skills could now be utilized as ideological assets rather than a mere decoration. For as ideas regarding decorative arts developed, so did the opportunities for women to achieve recognition for their skills.

Gender issues aside, participants in Arts and Crafts felt that reverting to earlier methods of production was the return of "quality once more to the work process itself."⁸⁵ They also sought to elevate the decorative arts to a status equal to that of fine art. Walter Crane (1845-1915), a friend of Morris and a devotee of Arts and Crafts (perhaps the longest serving devotee to Arts and Crafts) explained it in this way, "[t]he

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 79.

⁸² An example of a typical worker could be Thomas Rooke (1842-1942) who worked for Morris, and then Burne-Jones, and Ruskin, and developed his talents under their leadership (S. Fenwick, "Working for Morris, Burne-Jones and Ruskin: The memories of Thomas Rooke (1842-1942)", *Apollo*, vol. 144, iss. 416, pp. 33-36.).

⁸³ A. Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*, (London, 1979), and J. Marsh, "May Morris: ubiquitous, invisible Arts and Crafts-woman" in B. Elliot and J. Helland, (eds.), *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts 1880-1935: The gender of ornament* (Hants, 2002).

⁸⁴ Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, p. 77.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

decorative artist and handicraftsman have hitherto had but little opportunity of displaying their work in the public eye, or rather of appealing to it upon strictly artistic grounds in the same sense as a pictorial artist.”⁸⁶ Arts and Crafts was later used as a tool for social reform, through classes teaching handicrafts to the working-class through social unions that were formed throughout the movement to spread the Arts and Crafts message.⁸⁷

William Morris had some ideals in common with artist, writer and art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900). Their common ideals centred on being opposed to “the degradation of human labour.... the effects of mechanisation and the resultant division of labour”⁸⁸ but Morris added his own “ideals of craftsmanship, good design, fitness of purpose, reuniting designer and maker, and a renewed dignity of labour”.⁸⁹ The Arts and Crafts movement is significant because of its existence as a successful cultural movement. The movement, with its social unions and guilds, inspired people to think differently about the crafts they created, and also about the traditions in crafts, folklore and language. It was also significant because it showed a reaction against industrialisation in Britain, or as Walter Crane described it “a kind of revival has been going on, as a protest against the conviction that, will all our modern mechanical

⁸⁶ Morris, Preface, *Arts and Crafts Essays*, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 15-27.

⁸⁸ Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

achievements, comforts and luxuries, life is growing ‘uglier ever day,’ as Mr Morris puts it.”⁹⁰

Socialism became entangled in Arts and Crafts ideology through the fertile ground provided for new ideas in the *fin de siècle* environment. William Morris in particular saw to it that Socialism was brought to the forefront of the Arts and Crafts movement. Morris, as unofficial spokesman for the movement, had long lectured and written on the importance of workers enjoyment of their work⁹¹ and people’s enjoyment of the possessions in their home, illustrated this when he said, “[t]o give people pleasure in the things they must perforce *use*, that is one great office of decoration; to give people the pleasure in the things they must perforce *make*, that is the other use of it.”⁹² Though this speaks well of Morris’s dedication to elevating the decorative arts to a higher status, it also encompasses his idea that work should be “undertaken willingly and cheerfully”⁹³ and should be strongly based in the history of handicrafts. Morris said that, “[m]emory and imagination” should help the worker in his tasks, that he should use “[n]ot only his own thoughts, but the thoughts of the men of past ages [to] guide his hands; and as part of the human race he creates. If we work thus we will be men, and our days will be happy and eventful.”⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Walter Crane, “Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft: with notes on the work of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society”, in Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London, *Art and Crafts Essays*, (New York, 1977) p. 3.

⁹¹ W. Morris, “Useful Work versus Useless Toil”, in W. Morris, *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*, (London, 1998).

⁹² W. Morris, “The Lesser Arts”, *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*, p. 235.

⁹³ W. Morris, “Useful Work versus Useless Toil”, *News from Nowhere and Other Writings* p. 299.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 289.

On Socialism Morris spoke in much the same way. He defined Socialism as:

a condition of society in which there should be neither rich nor poor, neither as master nor master's man, neither idle nor overworked, neither brain-sick brain workers nor hear-sick hand workers, in a word, which all men would be living in equality of condition, and would manage their affairs unwastefully, and with the full consciousness that harm to one would mean harm to all- the realization at last of the meaning of the word COMMONWEALTH.⁹⁵

Because of its simple adaptability to national traditions, the Arts and Crafts movement was adopted by places outside of Britain. Europe and America warmed to the ideas of using their traditions through the Arts and Crafts movement, they adopted the ideology of Arts and Crafts and remade it as their own through application of their traditional culture.

Germany was particularly successful, both socially and economically, in its adaptation of the Arts and Crafts movement. One of those who aided the instigation of the Arts and Crafts style in Germany was Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927). Germany appointed Hermann Muthesius as an ambassador to Great Britain to study Arts and Crafts and bring his findings home to Germany.⁹⁶ He wrote definitive works on the subject of Arts and Crafts, such as *Das englischer Haus* (*The English House*) in 1888.

⁹⁵ William Morris, "How I Became a Socialist", *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*, p. 379.

⁹⁶ J. Maciuka, "Art in the Age of Government Intervention: Hermann Muthesius, *Sachlichkeit*, and the State. 1897-1907", *German Studies Review*, 1998, vol. 21, issue 2, pp. 285-308. S. Anderson, introduction, in H. Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and its Present Condition*, (California, 1994) p. 3. R. Joppien, "Germany: A New Culture of Things", in W. Kaplan, ed., *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America: Design for the Modern World*, (New York & Los Angeles, 2004) p. 70.

Muthesius saw that the exportation of Arts and Crafts included differences to those who adopted it, finding that the

German movement [of Arts and Crafts], in the final analysis is a descendant of the movement that arose under the leadership of William Morris in England in the 1860s, and yet it is nevertheless fundamentally different. Superficially, what most distinguishes the new Continental art from the English movement up to now is the luxuriant extravagance of form and the rage for sensational designs.⁹⁷

Germany adapted the Arts and Crafts movement to its particular national culture, a culture which had a certain concentration on organisation, practicality and utility. Germany created government offices to oversee Arts and Crafts production. In keeping with the British tradition of Arts and Crafts, an artistic colony was established at Mathildenhöhe, Darmstadt, founded in 1899 to promote Arts and Crafts living and design through examples of exemplarily individually produced work.⁹⁸ Significantly, even in Darmstadt, where Grand Duke (and patron) “Ernst Ludwig was truly idealistic about uniting art and life....he was equally interested in exploiting the new design as an impetus to trade and industry in Hesse.”⁹⁹ Acting against some of Morris’s most dearly held tenants of the movement, Germany knew that to create a viable business items in the Arts and Crafts style must be, at least in part, mass produced, an idea taken up in

⁹⁷ Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, p. 83. The “now” which Muthesius refers to is 1902, the time of the original publication of this work.

⁹⁸ Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, pp. 202-204, L. Parry and K. Livingstone, “Introduction: International Arts and Crafts”, in K. Livingstone and L. Parry, eds., *International Art and Crafts*, (London, 2005) pp. 26-27, W. Fred, “The Artists’ Colony at Darmstadt”, *The Studio*, vol. XXIV, 1902, reprinted in *Architectural Design*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1980, pp. 61-63.

⁹⁹ Joppien, “Germany: A New Culture of Things”, in Kaplan, ed., *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America*, p. 91.

earnest later by the *Kunstgewerbe* (applied arts) movement¹⁰⁰ and in the *Vereinigte Werkstätten* of Munich,¹⁰¹ both of which embraced more modern methods of production. The fact that Germany embraced mass-production negated most of the Morris ideals which characterised the Arts and Crafts movement. Because the Arts and Crafts movement was malleable to each different culture it was popular throughout Europe. However, the example of Germany and mass production raises a question; how much can be added or subtracted from the movement and still be designated as part of the Arts and Crafts movement?

Germany was a key link for the Arts and Crafts movement in Europe, and in time it was Germany that became a model of the marriage of craft and industry to the European Arts and Crafts movement.¹⁰² Many countries of Europe participated in the Arts and Crafts movement through a localised variation on it which concentrated on a revival of their own traditional folk arts and culture.

Art Nouveau

Arts and Crafts was just one of the artistic and cultural movements of the 1890s. Art Nouveau was also a significant movement throughout Britain, Europe and America. The term Art Nouveau was coined by Siegfried (Samuel) Bing (1838-1905) with his

¹⁰⁰ See Maciuka, "Art in the Age of Government Intervention: Hermann Muthesius, *Sachlichkeit*, and the State, 1897-1907", *German Studies Review*, 1998, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 285-308, and M. Jarzombek, "The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904-1908, and the Founding of the *Werkbund*", in F. Forester-Hahn, ed., *Imagining Modern German Culture*, (Hanover, 1996).

¹⁰¹ R. Ulmer, "Germany", in Livingstone and Parry, (eds.), *International Art and Crafts*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰² Parry and Livingstone, "Introduction: International Arts and Crafts", in Livingstone and Parry, (eds.), *International Art and Crafts*, (London, 2005) pp. 27-28.

gallery called *L'Art Nouveau* which opened in Paris in 1895.¹⁰³ The style, and the name, acquired worldwide recognition in the 1900 Paris International Exhibition when Art Nouveau designers were featured at Bing's pavilion.

A key difference between Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts was that of style versus substance. Whereas Arts and Crafts had worked very hard to create substance with its congresses, publications and connections with Socialism, Art Nouveau was primarily focused on its style. Art Nouveau was not concerned with the artisans, work methods and materials, it was not concerned with guilds and congresses, it came to favour its elitism brought by expense.

The style of Art Nouveau began prior to its 1895 designation as Art Nouveau. Art Nouveau designs were often inspired by nature, though the Art Nouveau version of nature was far more stylised than had previously been seen in its Arts and Crafts representation. The artists used abstracted ideas of nature which featured motifs such as flowing tendrils and interlacing flowers. One of the first, and best known, instances where stylised natural forms were used in way that showed a move from Arts and Crafts towards Art Nouveau was that of A.H. Mackmurdo's design for his book *Wrens City*

¹⁰³ P. Greenhalgh, "'A great seriousness': Art Nouveau and the status of style, *Apollo*, May 2000, vol. 151, issue 459, p. 4, P. Greenhalgh, "The Style and the Age", in P. Greenhalgh, ed., *Art Nouveau 1890-1914*, (London, 2000) p. 26.

Churches c.1883. In his illustration for the title page Mackmurdo showed use of the flow of line and asymmetry that would later characterise the Art Nouveau movement.¹⁰⁴

Art Nouveau showed, in part, a reaction to the more conservative Arts and Crafts and challenged the established ideas of style, and it was also a reaction to the very things Arts and Crafts had reacted against, the fussy, heavy, overdone Victorian interiors.¹⁰⁵ The material products of Art Nouveau included fine art, interiors (including murals), furniture and household goods, and architecture, much the same as Arts and Crafts. Though their output was often in the same form- architecture, murals, household goods- the two movements shared little in ideals or stylistic components.

Art Nouveau originated as a primarily French and Belgian movement,¹⁰⁶ and quickly spread throughout Europe and Britain and into both Russia and America.¹⁰⁷ The style of Art Nouveau was adapted by many European countries and re-named to create a new movement with strong nationalist expression. As well as being known worldwide as Art Nouveau, it was also known as the Secession movement in Austria, and *Lilienstil* (lily style), *Jugendstil* (youth style), *Wellenstil* (waves style), and *Bandwurmstil* (tapeworm style) in Germany. In Italy it was *Stile Liberty* (after Liberty's store in

¹⁰⁴ A. Duncan, *Art Nouveau*, (London, 1999) p. 11, N. Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, (Middlesex, 1970) p. 90, P. Greenhalgh, "Le Style Anglais: English Roots of the New Art", in P. Greenhalgh, ed., *Art Nouveau*, p. 134, and Ian Latham, "Introduction: New Free Style: Arts & Crafts- Art Nouveau- Secession", *Architectural Design*, vol. 1, no.2, 1980, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Duncan, *Art Nouveau*, (London, 1999) pp. 7-9.

¹⁰⁶ P. Davey, "Arts and Crafts from Morris to Mackintosh", *Architectural Review*, 1995, vol. 197, issue 1177, pp. 10, 14.

¹⁰⁷ M. Green, "Art Nouveau in Russia", *Russian Tri-Quarterly*, 1989, issue 22, and K. Harlow, "The Hand-wrought Jewellery of Louis C. Tiffany", *Apollo*, 1982, vol. 116, issue 245.

London),¹⁰⁸ *Stile Floreal* (flower style), *Stile Nouille*, and *Stile Vermicelli* (after the tube-like forms associated with vermicelli pasta). In Belgium it was called *Paling Style*, in Spain *Modernista*, and in France it was Style Metro (after the Hector Guimard's metro signs), Glasgow Style (after Charles Rennie Mackintosh's influence), and Yachting Style.¹⁰⁹

In 1898 French journalist Adolphe Retté reported “we are living in a storm where a hundred contradictory elements collide; debris from the past, scraps of the present, seeds of the future, swirling, combining, separating under the imperious wind of destiny’.”¹¹⁰ Unlike Arts and Crafts which originated with tradition, sometimes to the point of antiquarianism, Art Nouveau raced towards the modern. In the many countries that developed an Art Nouveau style it was often informed by the country's individual temperament and history, a similar developmental path to that of the Arts and Crafts movement, but with noticeably different results.

Art Nouveau was influenced in its development by Arts and Crafts. As early as 1901 it was asserted that William Morris, Walter Crane and the Arts and Crafts movement in general gave Art Nouveau “its first impulse”.¹¹¹ According to art historian Alastair Duncan, “[i]t was to William Morris that Art Nouveau owed its single greatest

¹⁰⁸ A. Duncan, *Art Nouveau*, p. 16, Liberty's was also “a status symbol for Europe's fashion elite”, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ These names are fairly well known, some of the translations are my own research.

¹¹⁰ Adolphe Retté, *La Plume*, 1 March 1898, p. 129 quoted in Greenhalgh, “The Style and the Age”, in Greenhalgh, (ed.), *Art Nouveau*, p. 15.

¹¹¹ Vincent J. Robinson, *The Times*, 17 August 1901, p. 3.

debt.”¹¹² The debt that was owed was a stylistic one, Arts and Crafts had simplified the way that goods were made and added prestige to those who made them. As Duncan described it, Arts and Crafts had used “botanical decorative vernacular”,¹¹³ which was used as a stepping stone by Art Nouveau to its more freeform botanical motifs. This was the beauty that many valued in the development of Art Nouveau, that it, in the words of Sir George Donaldson (1845-1925),¹¹⁴ ““demonstrates at least that there are forms and combinations of line, colour, and materials not hitherto dreamt of in the philosophy of English designers””.¹¹⁵ It was these combinations that separated Art Nouveau from Arts and Crafts, and it moved further beyond the Morrisonian ideal when it entered the realm of using machines in the production of goods.¹¹⁶

As well as an Arts and Crafts influence, Art Nouveau showed a strong Japanese influence. The influence of Japanese art began to show in Britain in the 1860s, once Japan had opened trade to the West, but it hit a most influential note in the Art Nouveau period. Both the founder of Liberty’s of London, Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1843-1917) and the French designer Siegfried Bing were significant in introducing *Japonisme* to Britain and France in the 1890s and thereby influencing its inclusion into the Art Nouveau language. Liberty was applauded in Britain particularly for his endeavours in the 1880s “to persuade the manufacturer[s] to adopt such forms and colours as would be

¹¹² Duncan, *Art Nouveau*, p. 9.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹⁴ George Donaldson was the vice-president of the Art Furniture Jury at the Paris Exhibition in 1901.

¹¹⁵ The Editor of *The Magazine of Art*, *The Times*, 17 August 1901, p. 3. This letter in *The Times* was part of a debate about the merits and detriments of Art Nouveau as a recognised art movement.

¹¹⁶ Morris was not necessarily completely against machinery as he posited that in an ideal society they could be used to minimise “the amount of time spent in unattractive labour” (W. Morris, *News from Nowhere and Other Writings* (London, 1998) p. 304.).

in harmony with our domestic life.”¹¹⁷ According to architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner, “Liberty’s [success] about 1890 depended largely on their Eastern silks in delicate shades and their other Chinese imports.”¹¹⁸ Books on Japanese art also had their impact on artists and consumers, as they introduced the art and culture of “a country which till a few years ago was guarded like a gaol”.¹¹⁹ Of the many artists that found inspiration in Art Nouveau were included Aubrey Beardsley and Charles Ricketts (1866-1931), whose more Eastern influenced designs were popular in Europe, but “never popular in Britain”,¹²⁰ showing that there was only so much Eastern-inspired art would appeal to the British public.¹²¹

In fact, there were only so many people that were receptive to Art Nouveau in Britain when it was in its first stages of development. An exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum awoke a furore from devotees of Arts and Crafts. George Donaldson had made a generous donation of Art Nouveau furniture which was greeted with comments such as “[n]ot only are the things wretched in design and construction, and indifferent in workmanship, but they are not even the typical and original examples of a bad fashion. They are [...] the after effects of the fantastic malady.”¹²² Art Nouveau

¹¹⁷ *The Times*, 7 March 1913, p. 10. Greenhalgh, “*Le Style Anglais: English Roots of the New Art*”, in *Art Nouveau*, Greenhalgh, (ed.), p. 143, the influence of Liberty’s store cannot be underestimated in regard to Art Nouveau, the shop was integral in both as a source of Art Nouveau and as a retailer of the style.

¹¹⁸ Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, p. 150.

¹¹⁹ *The Times*, 8 November 1883, p. 10. This of course refers to the opening of Japan in 1854 by American Admiral Perry and the subsequent opening of Japanese trade relations.

¹²⁰ F. Vanke, “Arabesques: North Africa, Arabia and Europe”, in P. Greenhalgh, (ed.), *Art Nouveau*, p. 116.

¹²¹ There were also connections between members of the Celtic Renaissance and Japan, see Ch. pp.

¹²² Anonymous, “L’Art Nouveau at Kensington”, *Architectural Review*, vol. X, 1901, reprinted in *Architectural Design*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1980, p. 94.

was often referred to by its critics as a disease, not unlike the way in which the Aesthetic and Decadent movements had been viewed.

It was not only the influence of Eastern art that Liberty and Beardsley had in common, Beardsley also “had the same eclecticism as Liberty’s store.”¹²³ Beardsley, mentioned above in the context of British Decadence and the influence of *Japonisme*, also formed part of the Art Nouveau movement in Britain. Historian Paul Greenhalgh considered Beardsley as among the most influential people on the budding Art Nouveau style, along with Bing, Victor Horta and Henry van de Velde.¹²⁴ Duncan wrote that Beardsley’s impact on Art Nouveau was “profound and widespread”,¹²⁵ and included many contacts that would become mainstays in Art Nouveau after Beardsley’s death in 1898, influencing artists and architects both at home and abroad. Duncan identified these as “Klimt in Vienna, Bradley in Chicago, Horta and van de Velde in Brussels, Vallotton in Paris, Bakst in St Petersburg, and ‘The Four’ in Glasgow”.¹²⁶ This is further explored by historian Bram Dijkstra who finds Beardsley’s illustrations for Wilde’s *Salome* an influence in the *fin de siècle* cult of the vampire, something which inspired Art Nouveau artists such as Lotte Pritze (1887-1952), Romaine Brooks (1874-

¹²³ Greenhalgh, “*Le Style Anglais: English Roots of the New Art*”, in Greenhalgh, (ed.), *Art Nouveau*, p. 143.

¹²⁴ Greenhalgh, “The Style and the Age”, in Greenhalgh, (ed.), *Art Nouveau*, p. 26.

¹²⁵ Duncan, *Art Nouveau*, p. 20.

¹²⁶ Ibid. R. Waissenberger, *Vienna Secession*, (London, 1977) p. 15, also cites Beardsley as an influence on the Vienna Secession (also called the Vienna *Jugendstil*). The Four refers to Margaret Macdonald, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Frances Macdonald and James McNair.

1970), Franz Flaum (1867-1917), Edvard Munch (1863-1944) and Philip Burne-Jones (1862-1926).¹²⁷

Art Nouveau style was quickly adapted by various countries and areas into movements and groups which they branded by their own specific names because it was a pliable style which gave off a feeling of youth and energy, of newness. Those who participated in the many forms of international Art Nouveau in also found it as a way to establish a new facet of nationalism.

For all their similarities, including the significant influence of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement to the development of Art Nouveau, there were many more differences between the two movements in style, implementation and acceptance. Arts and Crafts was generally featured more in the architecture of residential buildings while Art Nouveau featured heavily in hotels, shops and businesses, municipal buildings and residential buildings. Art Nouveau could particularly be seen in department store architecture and interiors and Arts and Crafts was found primarily in home interiors. While Arts and Crafts celebrated a revival of historically or traditionally inspired art and architecture, Art Nouveau itself was a celebration of a break with tradition and the birth of new style.

¹²⁷ B. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, (Oxford, 1988) pp. 343-349.

There were as many different influences on both Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau as there were artists. A “thousand influences”¹²⁸ may be hyperbole, but not without justification. Both movements had a myriad of influences, creating often eclectic styles.¹²⁹ Not only did the influences for both movements include Decadence, Aestheticism,¹³⁰ and Japanese art, they also included ancient Norse art (in Nordic and non-Nordic areas),¹³¹ ancient Celtic art, Classicism, Medievalism, Romanticism, Naturalism, the Pre-Raphaelites, and the Romantic period. These influences were mixed with traditional motifs of the home country, and once they were released into the world (often through one of the many art periodicals of the time, such as *The Studio*) they spread influences to other areas and countries, and cross-pollinated all over Europe.

The main difference between Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau could be described as that between rural and urban. Arts and Crafts decorative items and architecture were tailor-made for the rural life, or those who wanted to bring the rural into their lifestyle. In direct contrast, Art Nouveau was a city-dweller. Art Nouveau architecture was found and created in cities, in hotels and municipal buildings, and not in the country homes for which Arts and Crafts became known.

¹²⁸ Fred, “The Artists’ Colony at Darmstadt”, *The Studio*, vol. XXIV, 1901, reprinted in *Architectural Design*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1980, p. 61. Fred writes that he imagines that later historians will be perplexed while attempting to unravel the influences of the Arts and Crafts movement.

¹²⁹ P. Greenhalgh, “Alternative Histories”, in Greenhalgh, ed., *Art Nouveau*, p. 37.

¹³⁰ As often as Decadence and Aestheticism provided Arts and Crafts something to react against, they also provided an inspiration to Art Nouveau.

¹³¹ A. Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in 19th-Century Britain*, (Suffolk, 2002), refers in to the influence of Iceland on William Morris. E. Stavenow-Hidemark, “Viking Revival and Art Nouveau: Traditions of Excellence”, in D. McFadden, ed., *Scandinavian Modern Design 1800-1980*, (New York, 1982) pp. 47-85 refers to the influence of the Viking revival, Old Nordic style and dragon style, as does J. Opic, “Helsinki: Saarinen and Finnish Jugend”, in Greenhalgh, (ed.), *Art Nouveau*, pp. 374-387.

The *fin de siècle* hosted many art and cultural movements which influenced and inspired each other. It was an incredible phenomenon, especially in the way which nations and ethnic groups were able to use Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau to express their cultural nationalism. In turn, perhaps Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau influenced nations and ethnic groups to find the qualities which they wanted to express. It was a symbiotic relationship which resulted in beautiful art and architecture while also inspiring some groups to seek cultural, linguistic and political independence.

Chapter 2: Scottish Context c.1885-1891

The 1880s and 1890s in Scotland were significant because they differed from the wider European context. Scotland experienced the *fin de siècle* with circumstances that provided a home to many different elements at once, elements which created an environment which was uniquely suited to developing movements in art and culture. The factors that were most significant in *fin de siècle* Scotland were the displacement of the peoples of the Highlands and Islands, and the developments in Scottish literature and art. These seemingly unconnected fields formed a singular environment in which cultural nationalism could thrive.

The Echoes of the Highland Clearances

The Napier Commission was formed in 1883 to tour the Highlands and Islands and make a report complete with recommendations for crofting. Their report, submitted to Parliament in 1884, made recommendations related to the public, including “regulated crofting townships” and “full and free access” to natural materials like peat and heather.¹³² However, the Commission did not intend to fix secure tenure for smallholding crofters. In response to this issue crofters formed the Highland Land League, based on the similar Irish Land League. The Land League demanded “security

¹³² J. Macleod, *Highlanders: A History of the Gaels*, (London, 1996), p. 262.

of tenure for all crofters...fair rents and...land courts to assess these rents”.¹³³ The Land League raised popular agitation for these rights, which led to riots in Skye. In June 1886 Parliament passed the Crofters Holding Act (also known as the Crofting Act) which granted all crofters paying less than £30 a year the rights of: “security of tenure, the right to bequeath the tenancy to a family heir, compensation for all improvements were the tenancy relinquished, and...the Crofters’ Commission ... to fix fair rents.”¹³⁴ This lessened the troubles of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands though it could do nothing to restore the communities, some of which had been devastated forever. The devastation, the loss of community and the mass migration which followed the Highland Clearances produced a quasi-antiquarian culture that sought to preserve the past (history, language and culture) of the Highlands and Islands. Consequently groups and individuals collected and preserved songs, crafts and craft-making, language, sport, and hobbies of the deteriorating Highland culture.¹³⁵

The Clearances are most significant in that they dramatically changed the situation of the Highland population. The Napier Commission in 1883 and the Crofters Act in 1886 influenced the development of Scottish culture in the *fin de siècle* by seeking to address the lingering issues of the Clearances.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 263. It is worth mentioning at this point as the Highland Land League was based on its Irish predecessor, and so was the British government’s response. The government used the Irish situation as a model for how to deal with the Scottish one. (C. Dewey, “Celtic Agrarian Legislation and the Celtic Revival: Historicist Implications of Gladstone’s Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870-1886”, *Past and Present*, no. 64, August 1974, pp. 30-70.)

¹³⁴ Macleod, *Highlanders*, p. 264.

¹³⁵ E. Hobsbawm comment that it was usually the intelligentsia rather than the common people who began language revival seems pertinent here once again (Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p. 147 as previously mentioned in Chapter 1, p. 13.).

The development of *fin de siècle* Scotland's unique circumstances began in part with the Highland Clearances. The Clearances threatened Highland culture as a living entity. Once transplanted from the Highlands and Islands the native culture could be preserved, but could not be re-established as a natural way of life. Whether the Highland Gaels were transported to Canada, America or the cities of Britain, their geographical displacement withered their culture in its living state. They then had two choices, to re-establish their traditional culture in a new place or to adapt their culture to a new place. Reestablishment would mean that the culture was preserved as it had been, but devoid of its living environment, like Lenin's corpse it would be venerated and celebrated, but it would not develop or change. With adaptation displaced Highlanders could bring their culture into a modern age as a living entity.

The Literature of the Kailyard

A nostalgic and simplistic genre of literature developed in *fin de siècle* Scotland.

The Kailyard (meaning cabbage patch) was a term used for the rural, sentimental literature of 1890s Scotland. The term was taken from Ian Maclaren's (the pseudonym for Rev. John Watson, 1850-1907) novel *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (1894). The novel contained a quote from Burns as its "motto",¹³⁶ "There grows a bonnie brier bush

¹³⁶ T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2000*, (London, 1999) p. 287

in our kail-yard/ and white are the blossoms on't our kail-yard'".¹³⁷ Inspired by this, literary critic J.H. Millar used the phrase "the 'Literature of the Kailyard'"¹³⁸ to describe the work of Maclaren. After Millar's review was published in the *New Review*, April 1895, the term Kailyard became slang for overly sentimental rural-based literature.¹³⁹

There were three writers who are generally defined as the backbone of Kailyard literature, Maclaren, J.M. Barrie (1860-1937) and S.R. Crockett (1859-1914).¹⁴⁰ Their novels concentrated on rural Scots (not Gaelic) life, emphasising good Christian values with a moral and a happy ending.¹⁴¹ The rural setting of the Kailyard provided "[a]n older, purer Scotland, morally and linguistically."¹⁴² Kailyard works had a basic formula, including the "essential ingredients [which] revolved around timeless, isolated rural communities peopled with characters who represented solid virtues: the minister who voices pastoral morality; the industrious son who rises by dint of hard work; and the honest tenant farmers who give of their best for their families' improvement."¹⁴³

The idyllic life of the Kailyard novels provided a view of the safe haven of Scotland's rural life, and it was this "adoption of romantic Highland symbolism,

¹³⁷ Ibid., and R. Crawford, *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature*, (London, 2007) p. 506, 514.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 514.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 506, 514 and Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 297.

¹⁴⁰ Neil Munro refers to the "Barrie-Crockett-Maclaren 'boom'", letter from Munro to William Blackwood, 26 Feb 1894, in L. Lendrum, *Neil Munro: The Biography*, (Isle of Colonsay, Argyll, 2004) p. 59, Crawford, *Scotland's Books*, p. 512, and Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 297.

¹⁴¹ C. MacDougall, *Writing Scotland: How Scotland's Writers Shaped the Nation*, (Edinburgh, 2004) pp. 119, 121.

¹⁴² Ibid., 25.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 118.

paradoxically at the very time when crofting society itself was experiencing the terrible agony of clearance and dispossession”¹⁴⁴ which ties the two elements together. While the ramifications of the Clearances were still unfolding, a section of society embraced a sanitised version of the rural existence which edged towards extinction.

The Kailyard genre, of course, had its detractors. Complaints included that it contained too many novels written too quickly, something which was applied to both Barrie and Crockett,¹⁴⁵ and that Scottish life was generally depicted as “quaint” and “curious”, and therefore was “provincial entertainment” provided for the London and international audiences to ridicule.¹⁴⁶ Kailyard novels were also derided because of their popularity and success, which included audiences in London and abroad.¹⁴⁷ The success of Kailyard novels spread their depiction of Scots as comical characters in a parochial fantasyland.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps it was this that the detractors felt so hard to bear, that what they considered literature unworthy of Scotland was being successfully exported at home and abroad.

It was exactly these factors that also made Kailyard novels so popular. The novels promoted “wholesomeness....in an age preoccupied with material success”.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.293.

¹⁴⁵ MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, pp. 509, 513.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 118,505, 506, 509, 512.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 514, and Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 297.

¹⁴⁸ MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, pp. 506, 511, 514 and D. Gifford, “‘Out in the World and into Blawerie’: The Politics of Scottish Fiction”, E. Cowan and D. Gifford, (eds.), *The Polar Twins*, (Edinburgh, 1999) p. 291.

¹⁴⁹ MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, p. 513.

They provided “escape and consolation”¹⁵⁰ in the industrial age, which was an “irresistible attraction” to readers.¹⁵¹ However, the writers and readers of the Kailyard genre faced its end in 1901 when “[t]he Kailyard dream got a rude awakening”¹⁵² with the publication of *The House with the Green Shutters* by George Douglas Brown (1869-1902). Brown took basic tenants the Kailyard genre, “[e]ducation, religion, social fabric, family ties, Burns worship,[and] ‘getting on’”,¹⁵³ and “injected them with a lethal dose of realism.”¹⁵⁴

The Glasgow Boys

In *fin de siècle* Scotland art and literature faced similar challenges. As Brown would later strive to reinvigorate literature, an artistic group called the Glasgow Boys (sometimes known as the Glasgow School)¹⁵⁵ sought to redefine Scottish Art in the 1880s and 1890s. The Glasgow Boys included: James Guthrie (1859-1930), John Lavery (1856-1941), Macaulay Stevenson (1854-1952), E.A. Walton (1860-1922), James Paterson (1854-1932), E.A. Hornel (1864-1933), George Henry (1858-1943), T. Corsan Morton (1859-1928), Alexander Roche (1861-1921), Joseph Crawhill (1861-1913), W. Y. Macgregor (1855-1923), William Kennedy (1859-1918), Thomas Millie

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 518.

¹⁵¹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 297.

¹⁵² MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, p. 121.

¹⁵³ I. Campbell, *Kailyard* (Edinburgh, 1981) p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁵ J. Lavery, *The Life of a Painter*, (London, 1940) p.p. 79-87, M. Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000) p. 131, I. Finlay, *Art in Scotland*, (London, 1948) Chapter IX, pp.125-137, D. and F. Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, (London, 1975), J. Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, (New York, 1923) pp. 233-4.

Dow (1848-1919), Stuart Park (1862-1933) and Pittendrigh MacGillivray (1856-1938).¹⁵⁶

The Glasgow Boys were given their name “in spite of their protests”,¹⁵⁷ and it was a label which could be misleading. Though the group “found themselves congenial, and sharing artistic ideals and aims by no means universally entertained in the Glasgow Art Club”,¹⁵⁸ however, “[t]hey did not paint all after the same manner, but there was sufficient similarity in intention to justify their being regarded as a group.”¹⁵⁹ The Glasgow Boys were an independent group, “thrown upon their own resources”,¹⁶⁰ and this fostered “reliance upon themselves, as well as a community of feeling”.¹⁶¹ It was these factors more than any others that led to the individual artists being considered as a group.

The work of the Glasgow Boys faced early difficulties in being accepted by the New English Art Club, the Glasgow Art Club and the Edinburgh Royal Scottish Academy. The style of the Glasgow Boys developed in part as an antidote to that of artists like Horatio McCulloch (1805-1867) “who painted mainly Highland scenes with considerable feeling for pictorial effect, but with a rather monotonous sameness of

¹⁵⁶ D. Martin, *The Glasgow School of Painting*, (London, 1897) included others into the group: David Gauld, J. Whitelaw Hamilton, Harrington Mann, George Pirie and Grosvenor Thomas.

¹⁵⁷ J. Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, p. 234.

¹⁵⁸ N. Munro, *Brave Days: A Chronicle from the North*, (Edinburgh, 1931) p. 235.

¹⁵⁹ J. Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, p. 231.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

method, and without much romantic inspiration or any great depth of sentiment.”¹⁶² The Glasgow Boys fought this style with their own, “[t]hey were seen as somehow foreign and there can be no doubt that they represented something new in art in Scotland for all the important connections that they had with the painting of the older generation.”¹⁶³

As writers like Brown sought to provide an alternative to the writers of the Kailyard, so artists like the Glasgow Boys sought to fight the work of what they designated as “the glue pot school” with their own.¹⁶⁴ Art historian Roger Billcliffe described the work of the “gluepots” as “[t]hese acres of painted heather, its lurid purple contrasting against the greys and dull browns of the rocky hillsides, were rivalled only by the mawkish sentimentality of the subject-pictures which were popular with many Victorian collectors. This was a field in which the ‘gluepots’ of the Glasgow Art Club excelled.”¹⁶⁵

Part of this fight was expressed through a magazine published through the Glasgow Boys, the *Scottish Art Review*. Once established, political economist James Mavor (1854-1925) was chosen for the job of editor. Though Mavor was known as an economist, he was also a generalist and embraced the arts and sciences. He had longstanding friendships with many of the Glasgow Boys. However, the periodical was

¹⁶² T.F. Henderson and F. Watt, *Scotland of To-Day*, (London, 1907) p. 93.

¹⁶³ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000) p. 255.

¹⁶⁴ Munro, *Brave Days*, p. 235, Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, p. 231, D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, (Edinburgh, 1996) p. 255.

¹⁶⁵ R. Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, (London, 2009) p.28.

short-lived, new (English) financial backing renamed it *The Art Review* and it folded after a further seven issues.¹⁶⁶

Francis “Fra” Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art

Mention of the Glasgow Boys must be accompanied by that of Francis “Fra” Newbery (1855-1946). Newbery took over as principal of the Glasgow School of Art in 1885, after which time at both Glasgow Boys E.A. Walton and James Paterson briefly attended the GSA.¹⁶⁷ Newbery became a source of support and encouragement to “the young group of painters”,¹⁶⁸ the Glasgow Boys.

Newbery approached the job with “competent professional knowledge and abundant enthusiasm for the encouragement of individual genius”,¹⁶⁹ factors that made him ideal for his post. Duncan Macmillan wrote that “Glasgow School of Art did not play a major role in the art life of the city”,¹⁷⁰ specifically c.1885 and the start of Newbery’s stewardship. What the GSA did offer under Newbery was the opportunity for young artists to study somewhere progressive, where “individual genius”¹⁷¹ was to be encouraged rather than repressed. This was valuable for the progress of art in Glasgow. As the Glasgow Boys has discovered, the Royal Scottish Academy in

¹⁶⁶ Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, pp. 234-5.

¹⁶⁷ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, (Edinburgh, 1996) p. 256. Macmillan dated Newbery’s headmastership of the GSA as beginning in 1885, James Mavor dated it at 1888, Mavor, *My Windows on the Streets of the World*, vol. I, (New York, 1923) p. 233.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, (Edinburgh, 1996) p. 256.

¹⁷¹ Mavor, *My Windows on the Streets of the World*, vol. I, p. 233.

Edinburgh had “close[d] ranks” against outsiders from Glasgow, as had the Glasgow Art Club.¹⁷² The GSA under Newbery provided an oasis for Glasgow artists, whether they attended the School or not. Newbery’s “vivifying”¹⁷³ leadership made the GSA one of the few institutions which did not exclude young Glasgow talent.

The Arts and Crafts Movement

The Arts and Crafts movement initially developed in Scotland through the same means which it had developed in England. A number of organisations and groups developed and through their work the ideas and ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement was spread. These organisations were loosely based on the original Morris ideal,¹⁷⁴ or on the guild model, i.e., Ashbee’s Guild of Handicraft and Mackmurdo’s Century Guild.¹⁷⁵ The Kyrle Society was instrumental in disseminating the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland, particularly through the establishment of the Glasgow Kyrle Society in 1883.¹⁷⁶ Scotland was in a singular situation with the Arts and Crafts movement, artists and craftsmen did not have to choose one or another, they could choose to embrace both Scottish and British,¹⁷⁷ Edinburgh and Glasgow, Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau, with all these factors working towards a whole rather than as divisive elements.

¹⁷² Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, (London, 2009) pp. 12-15.

¹⁷³ Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. I, p. 233.

¹⁷⁴ See Ch.1, pp 24-25.

¹⁷⁵ See Ch.1, p. 26.

¹⁷⁶ E. Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2006) p.1.

¹⁷⁷ A. Crawford, “United Kingdom: Origins and First Flowering”, in W. Kaplan (ed.), *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe and America: Design for the Modern World*, (New York and Los Angeles, 2004) p. 45.

The blossoming of the Scottish Arts and Crafts movement was encouraged by Newbery.¹⁷⁸ Newbery was one of the twenty founding members of the Glasgow Arts and Crafts Society (c.1898).¹⁷⁹ Other original members of the Society included:

Rowand Anderson (1834-1921), Jessie Newbery (1864-1948), John Duncan, Robert Burns (1869-1941), David Gauld (1865-1936), Alexander Roche (1861-1923), Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936), Margaret Macdonald (1865-1933), Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928), George Walton (1867-1933), Pittendrigh Macgillivray, John Guthrie (1859-1930), James Morris (1857-1942) and Robert Lorimer (1864-1929).¹⁸⁰ The Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club was also established in 1898.¹⁸¹

The single most significant event for the Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland was the Congress of The National Association for the Advancement of the Art and its Application to Industry which was held in Edinburgh in 1889.¹⁸² However, though this event was integral to Arts and Crafts from an intellectual standpoint, it had little practical effect on the students, amateurs and professionals who studied and worked in the Arts and Crafts. Throughout Scotland local societies and clubs gave amateurs and professionals a shared place for exhibiting their work. Many talented Scottish artists succeeded in becoming well known, winning accolades and prizes at international

¹⁷⁸ Cumming, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in Edinburgh", in N. Bowe and E. Cumming (eds.), *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1885-1925*, (Dublin, 1998) p. 17.

¹⁷⁹ NLS MSS 10530, letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, dated 5 May 1898.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Cumming, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in Edinburgh", in Bowe and Cumming (eds.), *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Dublin and Edinburgh 1885-1925*, (Dublin, 1998) p. 32.

¹⁸² See pp. 54-55, this chapter.

exhibitions, such as; Phoebe Traquair, Robert Lorimer, Margaret and Frances Macdonald, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Herbert McNair, Jessie King and E.A. Taylor. However, though Scotland may have been associated with one style or another abroad (such as the triumph of the Four at the Turin Exhibition 1902), there never was a unanimous consensus of style within Scotland itself. For such a geographically small country, Scotland's human and intellectual landscape was too varied to settle in one homogeneous style in any one things, including art, literature and politics.

Patrick Geddes and the Edinburgh Social Union

It was in this incredible environment which polymath and unofficial Professor, Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) created the Edinburgh Social Union in 1884.¹⁸³ Social unions were used to disseminate the ideals the Arts and Crafts movement to like-minded people throughout Britain. Geddes established the Environmental Society in Edinburgh in 1884, and in 1885 it was formalised into the Edinburgh Social Union. The Environmental Society was set up as:

¹⁸³ P. Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person: The Life and Ideas of Patrick Geddes, Founding Father of City Planning and Environmentalism*, (USA, 1975) p. 84, M. Stalley (ed.), *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment*, (New Jersey, 1972) p. 17. Both Kitchen and Stalley place the start of the Edinburgh Social Union in 1884, however, Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 272, places it in 1885, as does H. Meller in *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, (London, 1990) p. 75. E. Cumming in "Patrick Geddes: Cultivating the Garden of Life", in F. Fowle and B. Thompson (eds.), *Patrick Geddes: The French Connection*, (Oxford, 2004) p. 17 remarked that the Edinburgh Social Union was founded in 1885, and developed from Geddes's earlier Environmental Society. P. Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes*, (London, 1957) p. 45, concluded something similar, just saying that the Edinburgh Social Union was formalised in 1885.

a scheme for the organisation of all benevolent enterprise! But its special aims are to provide or rather improve existing material surroundings, by decorating halls and schools, planting open spaces, providing musical and other entertainments for the people, etc. etc.¹⁸⁴

The Edinburgh Social Union featured the original members of the Environmental Society, including James Oliphant, Frank Deas and Geddes. Its aims were very close to those of the Environmental Society,

to bring together all those who feel that misery of the poor arises in large measure from the want of sympathy and fellowship between different classes, and that all charitable effort which seeks to remedy this evil should apply those methods which economic suggests as tending most permanently to the mental and moral development of the community.¹⁸⁵

The Edinburgh Social Union was created to improve the “common Weal[th and] Heal[th]”.¹⁸⁶ According to the Minute Book of the Union:

Their immediate aim was to raise the standard of comfort mainly by laying more stress on the value of beauty + order in the surroundings of life. They intended to begin by decorating public halls + other places, especially where the poorer classes meet; by encouraging window gardening, especially among children (for which facilities has already been granted by the school board); by providing entertainments; + in other ways on lines corresponding to those of the Kyrle

¹⁸⁴ James Oliphant to Anna Morton (later Anna Geddes), November 1884, quoted in P. Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 83.

¹⁸⁵ The Edinburgh Social Union, “Sixth Annual Report”, Edinburgh, November 1890, Darien Press, p. 46, quoted in Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-educator, Peace-Warrior*, (London, 1978) p. 73.

¹⁸⁶ Edinburgh Social Union Minute Book, 1885-1892, entry dated Tuesday 6th January 1885, p. 1. The proximity of the words “common” and “weal[th]” is interesting, as the words combined lead to “Commonweal”, the Socialist magazine established by William Morris in December 1884. This minute book entry could be deliberate, or just a coincidence.

Societies, but with such wider¹⁸⁷ action as that embraced by the Nottingham Social Guild. It was designed that all might be members of the Union who made any contribution to its resources- in money, in work, or in Kind.¹⁸⁸

The ideals on which the Edinburgh Social Union was founded were similar, as the minute book pointed out, to those of pre-existing organisations. The attributes listed in the above passage, such as “laying more stress on the value of beauty + order in the surroundings of life”, were common to the wider Arts and Crafts movement, specifically its well known figures like Morris and Crane.¹⁸⁹

A forum for ideas and theories of Arts and Crafts, the Congress of The National Association for the Advancement of the Art and its Application to Industry, was held in Edinburgh between 28 October and 1 November 1889 at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.¹⁹⁰ With attendees like Geddes, Francis Newbery,¹⁹¹ William Morris, Robert Lorimer (1864-1929), C.R. Ashbee and Walter Crane, the Edinburgh Congress (as it is commonly called) was a show of approval for Edinburgh’s Arts and Crafts flowering by the Arts and Crafts community.¹⁹² The content of the Edinburgh Congress was, according to art historian Elizabeth Cumming, most “particularly important to the

¹⁸⁷ Edinburgh Social Union Minute Book, 1885-1892, entry dated Tuesday 6th January, p. 1.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ See Chapter 1, pp. 24-28.

¹⁹⁰ Cumming, “Patrick Geddes: Cultivating the Garden of Life”, in Fowle and Thompson (eds.), *Patrick Geddes*, p. 18. The Gallery was designed by architect Rowand Anderson (completed 1890) and decorated with murals by Edinburgh Social Union member William Hole.

¹⁹¹ Newbery was the principal of the Glasgow School of Art 1885-1914.

¹⁹² E. Cumming, “A ‘Gleam of Renaissance Hope’: Edinburgh at the Turn of the Century”, W. Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates: 5000 years of Art and Design*, (London, 1990) p. 150.

formulation and dissemination of Arts and Crafts principles in Edinburgh and Britain.”¹⁹³ A meeting of this magnitude at this stage cannot be underestimated. Edinburgh had proved important enough to play host to this, the second congress of The National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, an honour and a sign that Edinburgh’s contribution to Arts and Crafts was being taken seriously (*The Transactions of The National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry* were published in 1890, Geddes’s address was included in the publication). The Edinburgh Congress was also a sign that Geddes was a significant contributor to the Arts and Crafts movement. Geddes had spoken at the 1888 inaugural meeting, the first Congress at Liverpool, with a lecture entitled “Economic Arguments for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts”¹⁹⁴ and then again at the Edinburgh Congress, in a lecture called “On National and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent”.¹⁹⁵ Geddes’s speeches at both these meetings focused on how to make the best use of art and artists, both for the artists and the public, and how everyday art can alter lives. Geddes would develop into a driving force behind the arts in Edinburgh, and the fact that he was recognised as an expert at this early stage is testament to his force of personality, as well as his suitability as a leader.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹⁴ *Transactions of The National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Liverpool Meeting*, (London, 1888).

¹⁹⁵ *Transactions of The National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Meeting*, (London, 1890).

Geddes thought of society as a living organism which, like any organism, could endure periods of illness.¹⁹⁶ Geddes wanted to use the Social Union to reconstruct “the Old Town, physically and socially, in such a way as to produce a new cultural environment”¹⁹⁷ in which the public and the city could benefit together from each other. The Old Town of Edinburgh had been in decline since the 1760s and the construction of the New Town. The Old Town “declined into a collection of famous monuments surviving in an insanitary slumland”.¹⁹⁸ The Social Union used methods associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, such as “instruction and recreation”,¹⁹⁹ to better the lives of working people. Many of the Arts and Crafts-led organisations similar to the Social Union had related concerns, chiefly that of “redirecting the leisure hours”²⁰⁰ of workers so that they could turn to education classes and activities to improve their lives. Geddes used the Social Union to further the projects he thought would benefit people (and the city) the most, many of them public murals, and additionally, he started a series of classes and lectures as well. Geddes had originally created the Edinburgh Social Union because he felt that the existing organisations of Edinburgh were ignoring the problems of the Old Town.²⁰¹ By 1891 Geddes had left the Edinburgh Social Union behind him²⁰² because the Union was in the process of change and had begun to concentrate more on

¹⁹⁶ D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century 1890-2001*, (Edinburgh, 2001) p. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁸ Maier, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 44.

¹⁹⁹ Stalley, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 17.

²⁰⁰ Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, (London, 1995) p. 21.

²⁰¹ Maier, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 44-45.

²⁰² Cumming, “Patrick Geddes: Cultivating the Garden of Life”, in Fowle and Thompson (eds.), *Patrick Geddes*, p. 24, fn. 40.

design training and less on Geddes's schemes "of urban and moral renewal to which he was still deeply committed."²⁰³

Geddes preached the need for better home environments for those who lived in "[t]he rotting cabins of Old Ireland, the tumble-down cottages of the English labourer, [and] the squalid and super-crowded tenement of the Scot".²⁰⁴ It was just after their marriage in 1887 that Geddes and his wife Anna (née Morton) (?-1917) moved into a slum in James Court, off the Royal Mile in Lawnmarket,²⁰⁵ where they experienced the conditions of the tenements first-hand. Geddes painted and organised rubbish bins for the close and Anna "tried to help some of the women achieve a higher standard of home-making."²⁰⁶ The Geddeses also worked through basic ideas of hygiene, cleaning and repairing while in their James Court flat, they tried to influence other tenants of the building through their example.²⁰⁷ Geddes knew that nothing in the Old Town would be changed unless at least some of the intellectuals and upper classes moved back. His opinion was "that cities flourished or declined according to the people who lived in them."²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Cumming, "A 'Gleam of Renaissance Hope': Edinburgh at the Turn of the Century", in Kaplan, ed., *Scotland Creates: 5000 years of Art and Design*, p. 151.

²⁰⁴ P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, (New York, 1971) p. 113.

²⁰⁵ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 112.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁰⁷ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, pp. 112-113, Boardman *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, pp. 86-88, Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 77.

²⁰⁸ H. Meller, "Patrick Geddes and 'City Development' in Scotland", in C. Carter, (ed.), *Proceedings of a Symposium: art, Design and the Quality of Life in Turn of the Century Scotland 1890-1910*, (Dundee, 1982) p. 33.

Anna Geddes

Anna Geddes was no stranger to theories of social housing and working in slums, she had worked on philanthropic projects in her home city of Liverpool, and it was she who influenced Geddes to be “responsive”²⁰⁹ towards the work of the extraordinary housing reformer Octavia Hill who was working in London.²¹⁰ It could not have been easy in those early years (nor in later ones) to be the helpmeet of Geddes. According to Meller, Anna’s background of middle-class upbringing, traditions and mores helped her lend “credibility and authority to her husband’s social crusade of culture.”²¹¹ She was an excellent foil to for his creative, disorganised and enthusiastic projects, keeping track of the day-to-day mundane details they needed to live. Though she is barely mentioned in the pages here, she is evident behind Geddes’s every project. It was Anna’s money that would help Geddes’s on his way to building Ramsay Garden, and it was her devoted support and belief in his goals which stood behind him in all his endeavours. From their marriage in 1886 onwards Geddes had a devoted wife who, with intelligence and skills of her own, supported him first.

The Edinburgh Summer School (Summer Meetings)

It was in the Summer of 1887 that Geddes began another of his efforts to improve the lives of Edinburgh’s inhabitants, his Summer School (also called the Summer Meetings). Often associated with the University Extension movement, which

²⁰⁹ Meller, p. 71.

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 7, 71. Hill’s theories on social housing seemed to have great influence on Geddes’s own, as they focused on not only changing the housing of the people, but their living habits as well.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 7.

offered adult education classes with a concentration on development in education rather than on exam qualifications, the Summer School was focused along similar lines.²¹² The first meetings were more science focused,²¹³ and later meetings were balanced to include art, literature and music as well as science and geography.²¹⁴ Geddes's Summer School was revolutionary, the first of its kind in Europe,²¹⁵ it was loosely based upon a programme for teachers begun in the United States.²¹⁶ Notable participants in the Meetings included geographer Elisée Reclus, political economist James Mavor,²¹⁷ Russian anarchist Prince (Peter) Kropotkin, German biologist Ernst Haeckel, American psychologist and philosopher William James, and the French professor Abbé Felix Klein.²¹⁸ The lectures ran in courses, often up to 30 instructors giving up to 200 lectures and learning workshops in a summer.²¹⁹ The Summer School was one of Geddes's greatest successes, which can be measured both in the number of participants, Boardman estimates approximately 120 or more attended each year after 1893,²²⁰ and in its longevity. The Summer School held regular annual meetings from 1887 to 1899, and then sporadically thereafter.²²¹

²¹² A. Ziffren, "Biography of Patrick Geddes", in Stalley (ed.), *Patrick Geddes*, p. 21.

²¹³ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 115.

²¹⁴ It has been well established that the other areas of the Summer Meetings occurred, it is according to the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, August 18, 1896, that Marjory Kennedy Fraser "delivered historical and explanatory remarks" on music at the Summer School session the previous evening.

²¹⁵ Mairret, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 63.

²¹⁶ P. Geddes, *A Summer School of Science: Vacation Science Courses, Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1890) p. 3, cites a Teachers' Retreat at the University Summer Gathering in New York state. Also see Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 129.

²¹⁷ See this chapter, p. 48-9.

²¹⁸ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, pp. 128-133, Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, pp. 136, 143, and Mairret, *Pioneer of Sociology*, pp. 63, 64. Reclus, Mavor and Kropotkin were all friends of Geddes, and Klein was later a contributor to *The Evergreen*.

²¹⁹ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 143 and Geddes, *A Summer School of Science: Vacation Science Courses, Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1890).

²²⁰ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 129.

²²¹ Geddes went on to use the same formula employed in the Summer Meetings in Edinburgh to host Meetings at the Paris Exhibition in 1900 and in London in 1915.

Geddes considered each attendee of the Summer Meetings to be “not a mere passive auditor, [and] a receptacle for such tidbits of knowledge as may be tossed to him, but an active collaborator in all that we are carrying on here”,²²² he continued on to say “If we have a dogma here it is to teach a utilitarianism which treats life and culture as a whole”.²²³ The idea of being an active collaborator in a university system was one that Geddes held dear, and not one that was readily bandied about in education at the time. The idea of treating life and culture holistically was an idea that Geddes strongly believed in, and one that was lost in the contemporary universities as they increased specialisation on subjects and lost generalism. What Geddes fought against was not the fact that “Science goes on isolating and analysing strange new fields of minute detail, [and] Art refracting subtler aspects of nature through more individual moods of mind”,²²⁴ but rather the isolation that this encouraged, the divorce of sciences and arts. Geddes thought that a basic general knowledge of “histories, literatures, languages, [and] sciences” would bring “freer, fuller and stronger applications to life and use.”²²⁵ He also thought that “[e]ach generalisation, each notation, brings a new mastery”²²⁶ to those who embrace it. He saw a need for science and art to embrace one another, to combine “[t]he studies of sun and stars, of rock and flower, of beast and man, of race and destiny are becoming once more a single discipline”.²²⁷

²²² Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 130, quoting from “‘The Edinburgh Summer Meeting’, Prospectus, 1895.”

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ P. Geddes, “The Sociology of Autumn”, *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895, p. 28.

²²⁵ P. Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, (London, 1923) pp. 190-191

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 189.

²²⁷ P. Geddes, “The Sociology of Autumn”, *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895, p. 29.

The Edinburgh Town Council was sufficiently impressed by the Summer Meetings that they gave regular grants to Geddes to help finance them.²²⁸ However, though they provided grants to his endeavour, this does not mean they understood Geddes's methods.

Through his involvement in the Social Union, the Summer Schools, and his various projects, Geddes worked to keep the Edinburgh Old Town alive and thriving.²²⁹ The Summer Meetings continued for a number of years with increased attendance and publicity.

The University Extension Movement and Geddes's University Hall

One of Geddes's most successful accomplishments was his championship of University Hall. University Hall grew in tandem with the University Extension movement which sought to address concerns for the "pastoral and intellectual care of undergraduates".²³⁰ The University Extension movement was established to provide an entrée into university to those who would normally not be able to attend, similar to the Open University of today. However, Geddes had already begun actions to extend help

²²⁸ Requests for grants were made in 1891, 1893 and 1895 (Strathclyde University Archives, T-GED 10/1/3, 9/74 and 5/1/18). By 1895 the grant had been reduced significantly. NLS MSS 10508A, letter from Geddes to Duncan, 7 November 1895 recounts that the council had given a grant to the Old Edinburgh School of Art of £200 but had now reduced it to £100.

²²⁹ B. Thompson, "Patrick Geddes's 'Clan d'Artistes': Some Elusive French Connections", in Fowle and Thompson (eds.), *Patrick Geddes*, p.49.

²³⁰ R. Bell and M. Tight, *Open Universities: A British Tradition?*, (Buckingham, UK, 1993) p. 15.

to undergraduates. His experiments in student housing date from 1887 and were based on the idea that “while the traditional Scottish [university] system succeeded in developing self-reliance and independent thought, it certainly did not make for a well-rounded personality in the university graduate”,²³¹ something Geddes thought could be changed, primarily through the right living environment.

University Extension courses originally began in the early to mid-nineteenth century to remedy the situation for those students who were “beginning to discover the great chance thus offered to those who have leisure but are for various reasons unable to leave home.”²³² This was a revolutionary idea, that existing universities could provide for study outside of their own environs. Some universities were particularly attached to the idea of the university as a community, putting an emphasis on the experience that is gained through living in the university community with students and lecturers.²³³ There were two main forces driving the students of the University Extension movement, either they sought the degree they could obtain through their classes or they sought “a higher education without certification.”²³⁴ Those who were interested in the University Extension education were a new type of student, often coming from an economic and/or social class which had not usually had access to a university education, often those who were engaged in a trade and could only study in the evenings.²³⁵ Patrick Geddes was among those in Scotland “who foresaw the emergence of an ideal university in which

²³¹ P. Boardman, *Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future*, (Chapel Hill, 1944) p. 104.

²³² *Journal of Education*, April 1892, quoted in Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 18.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²³⁵ R.D. Roberts in *Journal of Education*, August, 1888, p. 373, quoted in S. Marriott, *A Backstairs to a Degree: Demands for an Open University in Late Victorian England*, (Leeds, 1981) p. 28.

everyone could pursue their own intellectual development in perpetual symposia, free of timetables and all examinations.”²³⁶

Scotland had a history of open access to education. In mid-nineteenth century Scotland, any man²³⁷ was “free to matriculate regardless of previous experience, but he was also free to drop in on lectures whether he matriculated or not.”²³⁸ This unfettered access to higher education was regarded “as a civil right of the people” in a society where the access was of higher importance than achievement of a degree.²³⁹

Educational historians like Bell and Tight categorised Geddes and his contemporary S.S. Laurie as “academic dreamers” and insisted that open access to universities and university education came to be regarded as “a nonsensical concept”.²⁴⁰ Stuart Marriot offered a more tempered opinion; “[i]n the social conditions of the 1890s a policy of open degrees on easy terms must have seemed to many people utopian to the point of foolish irresponsibility.”²⁴¹ The terms nonsensical and irresponsible seem to be humorous quips which gloss over the real social and class barriers in *fin de siècle* education.

²³⁶ Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 20.

²³⁷ Women were admitted to Scottish universities in the 1890s.

²³⁸ Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 23.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁴¹ Marriot, *A Backstairs to a Degree*, p. 68.

It is also Bell and Tight's opinion that "the Scottish universities launched no major extension movement."²⁴² (Interestingly, it was a Scot who had first formally developed the University Extension movement, it was James Stuart, a fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge.²⁴³) Perhaps Bell and Tight limited their definition of the University Extension movement to only include those programmes which worked with existing universities on a sanctioned course of studies. If they did so, that would indeed limit the number of official University Extension programmes. The other difficulty that Bell and Tight faced when trying to ascertain the state of Scotland's involvement in the University Extension movement, is that Scotland had always made higher education more available to the average man than England had. Because Scotland's Universities had a more open policy towards education the University Extension movement faced a different starting point in Scotland.

Geddes's thoughts on education agreed with those of Albert Mansbridge, who said, "[t]he real University is mystical and invisible; it is to be found wherever scholars cooperate for the extension of the bounds of knowledge. It is not in one place, or in selected places. It is intangible, undiscernable,[sic] but none the less real and men know one another when they are of its sacred courts."²⁴⁴ Geddes's theories of education were inspired in part by the medieval and Renaissance education ideals. Geddes eschewed the trend for increasing specialisation in university studies and concentrated instead on a more integrated approach. Generalisation is a term too nebulous to use for the type of

²⁴² Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 25.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁴⁴ A. Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes: A Study in the Development of Higher Education Among Working Men and Women*, (London, 1913) p. 37, cited in Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 20.

education he espoused, it was more that he sought to show students the interdependence of arts and sciences, and how understanding of one could be improved by understanding of the other, what is now called inter-disciplinary.

With these ideals on education, Scottish groups like the Edinburgh Social Union seemed to work within the existing informal system to offer what the University Extension movement offered more formally. However, on the fly-leaf of *Chapters in Modern Botany* (a volume in the University Extension Manuals Series),²⁴⁵ there is some information on the University Extension movement. It says “[t]his Series is primarily designed to aid the University Extension Movement throughout Great Britain and America, and to supply the need so widely felt by students, of Text-books for study and reference, in connection with the authorised Courses of Lectures.” This seems to confirm that Scotland did have a University Extension movement, complete with lectures and texts. Geddes confirms this in the volume’s Preface, “[this book’s] chapters have actually grown out of the syllabus and notes of the University Extension Lectures”.²⁴⁶ Though Geddes at first worked through the University Extension programme, he did so with the idea of changing the way the universities themselves worked.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ P. Geddes, *Chapters in Modern Botany*, (London, 1893).

²⁴⁶ Ibid., Preface.

²⁴⁷ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 124. Boardman cited numerous Scottish newspaper articles which quote Geddes on the need for change in universities.

In 1888 Geddes applied for the post of the Regius Professorship of Botany²⁴⁸ at Edinburgh University but he was not hired for the position. He felt slighted, especially after all he had done to benefit the city. However, it may have been due to his efforts to change the established educational system that he was rebuffed. In 1892 Geddes's long time supporter (intellectual and, more often than not, financial) J. Martin White (?-1928) campaigned for Geddes to get a post at the University College Dundee as professor of Botany.²⁴⁹ He was employed to work in Dundee in the three months of the summer term,²⁵⁰ leaving him free to pursue all his Edinburgh (and other) projects the rest of the year. Geddes was awash with projects at the time, throwing himself into the renovation of Ramsay Lodge and his evolving University Hall project (which grew to combine residence and teaching), buying and renovating the Outlook Tower, and beginning of the Old Edinburgh School of Art.²⁵¹

Geddes's work with student residences began in 1887 when he rented three flats in a tenement and "turned them into a self-governing hostel- the first of its kind in Great Britain."²⁵² The residence he arranged incorporated seven bedrooms, a living room, a dining room and a kitchen.²⁵³ It was a success from the start, though he was not supported in his endeavour by either civic or university authorities, neither of whom

²⁴⁸ Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 56.

²⁴⁹ White was a long-time supporter of Geddes, both as a friend and a financial backer.

²⁵⁰ Usually the term consisted of the months March, April and May.

²⁵¹ These projects will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

²⁵² Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 114. (See also Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 54) Though nearly every Geddes biography mentions this first venture, none of them specify where this first student residence was located. Ziffren, "Biography of Patrick Geddes", in Stalley (ed.), *Patrick Geddes*, p. 21, says that the flats were "not far from his [Geddes's] former home on Princes Street".

²⁵³ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 144.

were in favour of the student residence project.²⁵⁴ The success of the project can be measured in two ways, the happiness and fulfilment of the students and the project going on to the next level; both were accomplished by Geddes's student residence idea. Students were happy, judging from accounts in Paddy Kitchen's biography of Geddes,²⁵⁵ and the project did move on to the next level.²⁵⁶

Geddes's ideas behind the project grew and changed. It had begun as a way to provide residences for students and developed into a completely different entity by the time University Hall was housed at the beautiful expanded Ramsay Garden (formerly Ramsay Lodge) which was created by Geddes from 1890.²⁵⁷ Rather than being a physical place, University Hall was first and foremost an idea, and as such was mobile. It was not tied to Ramsay Garden, and meetings of University Hall could be held anywhere and everywhere. As earlier quoted, Albert Mansbridge said,

[t]he real University is mystical and invisible; it is to be found wherever scholars cooperate for the extension of the bounds of knowledge. It is not in one place, or in selected places. It is intangible, undiscernable,[sic] but none the less real and men know one another when they are of its sacred courts.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ According to Ziffren, "Biography of Patrick Geddes", in Stalley (ed.), *Patrick Geddes*, pp. 22-23, Edinburgh later came to regret not picking up on Geddes's student residence idea. Cecil Rhodes had once considered the University of Edinburgh for an endowment of a scholarship, but changed his mind when he asked about residential halls and was told they had none, he expressed dismay, as he knew Geddes had previously set some up.

²⁵⁵ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, pp. 114-115, is the only biographer who names a happy student, one Alex Michael, who, with his fellow students in Geddes's student residences, were "normally excluded by the circumstances of their birth and upbringing from the charmed circle of higher education, found stimulation and delight in the Geddes's involvement in their work and problems, and showed it in their spontaneous gratitude and friendship."

²⁵⁶ In fact, the project would have many levels and be imitated many times over in other cities. By Geddes himself the project was taken to Crosby Hall in Chelsea and to the Scots College he set up much later in Montpellier, France.

²⁵⁷ For more on Ramsay Garden see Ch. 3, pp.76-77, Chapter 4, pp. 85-87.

²⁵⁸ Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes*, p. 37, cited in Bell and Tight, *Open Universities*, p. 20.

It was also within Ramsay Garden that Geddes was able to fully implement his ideas to develop an alternative university for Edinburgh. When Geddes's application for the Regius Professorship of Botany²⁵⁹ at Edinburgh University was rejected, it seems that he may have begun formulating the creation of an alternative position. Despite his involvement with the University Extension Movement and his employment as a professor of botany at University College Dundee in 1892 (or perhaps inspired by the contemporary university system and how he may have seen it constrained both teachers and pupils), his ideas and actions for University Hall and Ramsay Garden grew.

Ramsay Garden

In 1890²⁶⁰ Geddes bought Ramsay Lodge, formerly the home of 18th century poet, wigmaker and bookseller Allan Ramsay.²⁶¹ Located adjacent to Edinburgh Castle Esplanade, Geddes built on the area extensively, adding on around the original “goose-pie” house (so named for its octagonal shape) with the help of architects S. Henbest Capper (1860-1924) and A.G. Sydney Mitchell (1856-1930). Geddes constructed a large building to provide both student accommodation and private flats, in the hopes that occupants in his building could resettle in the Old Town of Edinburgh as part of his efforts to revitalise it. The final building of Ramsay Garden incorporated the octagonal

²⁵⁹ Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 56.

²⁶⁰ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 77.

²⁶¹ It is possible that Ramsay designed the octagonal goose-pie house himself (J. Gifford, C. McWilliam, D. Walker (eds.), *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, (Middlesex, 1984) p. 191.).

original Ramsay Lodge,²⁶² which formed the nucleus of the student accommodation in Ramsay Garden.

Geddes's plan of resettlement was fairly simple and unofficial.²⁶³ He held a strong "belief in the necessity for a rich and delightful living-background, be one student or professor"²⁶⁴ and Ramsay Garden was built to accomplish this for himself and others. Geddes (with his wife Anna) began his fight to rehabilitate the Old Town slums as a tenant in James Court, located in the Old Town off the Royal Mile in 1887.²⁶⁵

Ramsay Garden housed a self-governing dormitory hall for students, intellectuals and artists, and separately, regular private flats, similarly geared towards community living.²⁶⁶ Community life was Geddes's intent when he created Ramsay Garden.

According to Boardman:

the greatest significance of the University Hall was that it brought together for the first time in Scotland, undergraduates and graduates from different fields of study and research. That young men of science and law, of medicine, theology and liberal arts were able to converse at meals and

²⁶² Both Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 119, and Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 128, mention Riddles Court in conjunction with the University Hall of this period. Geddes's use of Riddle's Court was that of a satellite building in his University Hall scheme. According to Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 77, Geddes bought a building in Riddle's Court in 1889, though it was not habitable for students for several years.

²⁶³ W. Stephen, "Patrick Geddes- the Life", in W. Stephen (ed.), *Think Global, Act Local: The Life and Legacy of Patrick Geddes*, (Edinburgh, 2004) p.27, Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 128, Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 125, and V. Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2002) p. 235.

²⁶⁴ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 125.

²⁶⁵ See this chapter, p. 58.

²⁶⁶ A. Mitchell, "The Garden that's a Building", *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 134, no. 2, 1990, p. 127, Mitchell shows Ramsay Garden is still "a way of life: a community life".

in the common room, and cooperate in self-government was, in Geddes's view, a start towards bringing synthesis into fragmentary specialisms. Furthermore, by themselves living in the midst of acute slum problems and of attempts at civic renewal these students got some awareness of what existed outside the shelter of academic careers.²⁶⁷

In Ramsay Garden Geddes was able to accomplish two objectives simultaneously; he could aid in the resettlement of the Old Town of Edinburgh and draw students (and other Ramsay Garden residents) into his program of city renewal. The flats of Ramsay Garden were to serve the same purpose of resettlement of the Old Town, and possibly to start an intellectual community as well.

Through the Edinburgh Social Union, the Edinburgh Congress and the University Extension movement Geddes worked through pre-existing programmes. As he worked through these programmes, Geddes developed his own methods of teaching and education. With his renovation of Ramsay Garden, Geddes constructed a place where his teaching methods and projects could take root. It was also a place where he could assemble a like-minded coterie of students, teachers, artists and intellectuals. Therefore, not only did Ramsay Garden give his projects a place to unfold, it also gave Geddes a sympathetic audience who were likely to participate in these projects. The unique circumstances of *fin de siècle* Scotland; the lasting effects of the Clearances, Scotland's acceptance of the Arts and Crafts movement in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the

²⁶⁷Boardman *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 128. The University Hall existed in several incarnations since 1887, he subsequently aided setting up one in Crosby Hall, Chelsea, and later at his Scots College in Montpellier, France.

inclusive culture of education which extended to any and all, all these factors made fertile ground for Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance in the 1890s.

Chapter 3: Patrick Geddes 1892-4

As discussed in Chapter 2, Geddes's early work (c.1884-1891) concentrated primarily on working within existing organisations. He worked within the Arts and Crafts movement, a movement he championed in word and deed. The pinnacles of his involvement within the Arts and Crafts movement were his involvement in founding the Edinburgh Social Union in 1885²⁶⁸, and his address to The National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry held in Edinburgh, also known as the Edinburgh Congress, in 1889. Both the Edinburgh Social Union and the Edinburgh Congress worked within the existing framework of the Arts and Crafts movement, that is, they strayed very little from the existing precedents. Around 1891-2 the projects in which Geddes was involved, as well as the projects he developed, began to shift slightly in their execution. Not only did Geddes stop working through pre-existing groups and instead began to develop his own, but in the period 1892-4 a subtle shift in subject matter led to Geddes embracing Celticism as a means to extend his work to the public.

²⁶⁸ P. Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person: The Life and Ideas of Patrick Geddes, Founding Father of City Planning and Environmentalism*, p. 84, M. Stalley (ed.), *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment*, (New Jersey, 1972) p. 17. Both Kitchen and Stalley place the start of the Edinburgh Social Union in 1884, however D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 272, places it in 1885, as does H. Meller in *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, (London, 1990) p. 75.

Patrick Geddes Breaks Ties with the Edinburgh Social Union

Edinburgh Social Union “was designed that all might be members of the Union who made any contribution to its resources- in money, in work, or in Kind.”²⁶⁹ It was a key point to Geddes that those who contributed in work or in kind should be recognised as genuine contributors, as often these were the most valuable of the contributions. As well as its efforts in beautification, the Union was instrumental in making improvements in the Old Town in sanitation and hygiene (these improvements also offered Union artists a chance for sculpture in water fonts) and in civic murals done by Union artists such as Phoebe Traquair and William Hole.

It was about five years after the establishment of the Edinburgh Social Union that Geddes began to grow apart from the established Arts and Crafts movement. According to the political economist (and friend of Geddes) James Mavor, Geddes had fallen out with William Morris (c. 1889 and the Edinburgh Congress). Mavor recalled:

I do not remember at this distance of time what it was that he [Geddes] said that roused Morris to fury. I thought at the time Morris did not quite understand Geddes’s point. He was certainly not familiar with Geddes’s elusive style or with the philosophical and scientific background which Geddes presupposed.²⁷⁰

Mavor also commented that in a meeting at the Symposium Club in Edinburgh, during the Edinburgh Congress, “[t]hose who were present included Patrick Geddes, Thomas

²⁶⁹ Edinburgh Social Union Minute Book 1885-1892, entry for 6 January 1885, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ J. Mavor, *My Window on the Streets of the World*, vol. I, (New York, 1923) p.199.

Carlaw Martin, William Renton, Belsyse Baildon [Bellyse H. Baildon] and a few others. They were critical rather than sympathetic, and Morris was clearly not quite at home.”²⁷¹

Geddes formally left the Edinburgh Social Union by 1891.²⁷² His split with the Edinburgh Social Union has been variously attributed to health problems from overwork, his desire for marriage, and his other work commitments (the former two factors are often added together to form the idea that his poor health due to overwork led subsequently to his marriage to Anna Morton).²⁷³ Sociologist Philip Mariet, an acquaintance of Geddes’s, characterised the Edinburgh Social Union’s actions as “little”,²⁷⁴ though when combined with his other activities of lecturing and writing, enough to drive him to overwork his “mental energy”.²⁷⁵ Mariet also cited that Geddes’s housekeeper’s cooking gave him indigestion and this combined with his mental strain drove him marriage (Mariet’s book was published in 1957).²⁷⁶ Both Philip Boardman (a former student of Geddes) and Paddy Kitchen cite Geddes’s overwork, and both also cite the Edinburgh Social Union as one of the first of Geddes’s abandoned and/or delegated projects. Boardman explained that Geddes:

would have the idea, the plan of a campaign, and would take an important part in the early stages of implementation. Then having got things going, he stepped out or aside, leaving others to carry

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² E. Cumming, “Patrick Geddes: Cultivating the Garden of Life”, in F. Fowle and B. Thompson (eds.), *Patrick Geddes: The French Connection*, (Oxford, 2004) p. 24, fn. 40. 1891 was the year the Geddeses had their second child, H. Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, (London, 1990) p. 77.

²⁷³ Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 46 and Boardman, *Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 78. See also Chapter 2, p.58

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 45.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 46.

on. For him it was not an abandonment of a project he believed in, but rather that he had had another new idea and found another field of activity. As he used to explain it, referring to one of the least reprehensible of his adolescent pranks, he was ‘the boy who rang doorbells and then ran away’.²⁷⁷

Kitchen agreed, quoting Geddes’s longtime accountant John Ross as saying, “[i]s the Sower to be blamed because some of the seed fell on stony ground?”²⁷⁸ Kitchen also made reference to a supposition that the Edinburgh Social Union felt abandoned and considered Geddes as having left them in the lurch.²⁷⁹

These early relationships with the Edinburgh Social Union and the Arts and Crafts Movement, were not gone or abandoned, they were just less pressing than his newer projects. It was perhaps through his involvement with these groups that Geddes discovered that the established way was not his way. Though his application for the Regius Professorship of Botany at Edinburgh University had been rejected in 1888, he was given the post of Professor of Botany at University College Dundee in 1892. It is possible that partly because of his rejection for the post at Edinburgh, and despite obtaining a post at Dundee, he saw this as a rejection of his contributions. As a scientist perhaps he considered it in biological or evolutionary terms and realised that he must adapt in order to survive. Instead of adapting into the pre-existing system it seems that around this time he began creating his own.

²⁷⁷ Boardman, *Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 73.

²⁷⁸ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 171.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. Kitchen refers to a comment made by Town & Gown member Sir Thomas Whitson, later Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Ramsay Garden

Once Geddes had achieved success in James Court and Riddles Court, he began to focus his plans on Ramsay Garden. With his purchase of Ramsay Lodge in 1890 (combined with the additional purchase nearby of the Outlook Tower in 1891) and the Lodge's subsequent expansion from 1892-1894 into the Ramsay Garden complex, Ramsay Garden became a tangible centre of the work of Patrick Geddes.

Through architects S. Henbest Capper and A.G. Sydney Mitchell Geddes constructed a large building to provide both student accommodation and private flats. As part of the student accommodation common rooms were built which could be used for University Hall, Summer Meetings, or various other of Geddes's projects. Capper constructed a section of Ramsay Garden in 1892²⁸⁰ and Mitchell constructed another two sections in 1892-4.²⁸¹ The final building of Ramsay Garden incorporated the "goose-pie" of Allan Ramsay's Ramsay Lodge.

Ramsay Garden remains highly noticeable (See Figures 1 and 2). It was constructed out of an eclectic mix of materials including "harl and timber, grey slates, red tiles and red sandstone",²⁸² all of which harmonise together to create a building of

²⁸⁰ *A History of Scottish Architecture From the Renaissance to the Present Day*, eds., M. Glendinning, R. MacInnes, and A. Mackechnie, (Edinburgh, 1996) p. 560.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

²⁸² *The Buildings of Scotland*, Gifford et al, eds., p. 191.

striking appearance. Various architectural historians have called it colourful descriptions such as a “fantastic ice-cream confection”,²⁸³ “folksy”²⁸⁴ and a “soaring, turret-encrusted fantasy”.²⁸⁵ The building is striking not only from the Castle Esplanade, but also as viewed from Princes Street. Perhaps Geddes was making a statement both in location and in architecture, one which professed the importance of the Old Town and of Geddes’s view of the importance of his work.

Ramsay Garden was created as a community living environment, with its residents featuring writers, artists, professors and students, it was created in part as a resettlement of the Old Town (as Geddes felt the best way to effect change was from within and by example, not through a wholesale desertion of the Old Town and the creation of a New Town). As a beacon of resettlement of the Old Town, Ramsay Garden was a beautiful and lively, an alternative cultural centre. The Summer Meetings, University Hall, and the classes, lectures and walks offered, were open to all.

The Old Edinburgh School of Art

Ramsay Garden was also home to the Old Edinburgh School of Art which opened under the directorship of artist John Duncan in 1892. The idea of establishing the Old Edinburgh School of Art may have been influenced by the work of the

²⁸³ C. McKean, *Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh, 1992) p. 6.

²⁸⁴ F. Sinclair, *Scotstyle: 150 years of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh, 1984) p. 58.

²⁸⁵ *A History of Scottish Architecture From the Renaissance to the Present Day*, eds., Glendinning *et al*, p.350.

Edinburgh Social Union,²⁸⁶ particularly if Geddes's split with the Union was precipitated by their focus on craft and design work. If that is indeed the reason that Geddes left the Union, the establishment of the School could have been an attempt to continue promoting art and design classes while still following his own agenda for the regeneration of the Old Town.

John Duncan was the president of the Old Edinburgh School of Art from its inception until 1900 when he left to work in America, and the School closed.²⁸⁷ The School's purpose, as set out in its "Statement of Aims",²⁸⁸ was that "this school is not in competition with any existing school in Edinburgh or elsewhere; but has [the] distinct object[ive]s of public and educational usefulness."²⁸⁹ The School hoped

to appeal to students who have already acquired some preliminary training, workmen who have already mastered the essentials of handicrafts, painters and architects who have studied their profession, and endeavours to organise their efforts upon the City much as in every city during the middle ages, the Cathedral + the civic + corporate buildings were the recognized centres of artistic life.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ See Chapter 2, pp.52-54, and Cumming, "A 'Gleam of Renaissance Hope': Edinburgh at the Turn of the Century", in Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates*, p. 151.

²⁸⁷ Though Duncan was recognised as the head of the Old Edinburgh School of Art, none of the existing minutes for meetings of the School include Duncan, an interesting situation, as all other evidence, including paying the bills and requests for funding point to Duncan as head of the School.

²⁸⁸ SUA T-GED 12/9/30 (12/1/53), Aims of University Hall School of Art, undated.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

While these ideals about its targeted student-base may seem to follow in the Arts and Crafts tradition, Geddes felt that its purpose was of its own making, and indeed was completely separate from what he felt Arts and Crafts had come to represent.

However, the creation of the Old Edinburgh School of Art was heavily influenced by Arts and Crafts ideals and that of the University Extension movement. But Geddes separated the School from the Arts and Crafts tradition, he felt that Morris in particular had produced products “with which he has no personal sympathy”²⁹¹ and that Arts and Crafts was, by the 1890s, “essentially dominated by capitalistic consumption.”²⁹² Geddes felt the OESA differed in a few key ways, first of which was that those associated with the School had “seen the necessity of a more Social Art in the housing of people.”²⁹³ The second difference was that they had seen “there is still room for another school [besides Rowand Anderson’s Edinburgh School of Applied Art, the precursor to the Edinburgh College of Art, both of which Geddes had strong objection to], in which capital is not the artist’s master but so far as it goes here for and in his service. It is this opening which our Old Edinburgh School of Art attempts to fill.”²⁹⁴ Geddes’s final desire for his students and the School was to “[d]evelop then our school rigourously on the lines of Celtic Art. We see then our decoration must be largely

²⁹¹ SUA T-GED 5/3/68, The Work of the Art School, annotated by Patrick Geddes, undated, p. 2.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 18.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

metallic, must be largely lustrous, must gratify here for all of us our organic lust of gold.”²⁹⁵

The Old Edinburgh School of Art offered a variety of classes, among them, Celtic Ornament,²⁹⁶ Architectural Work, Building Construction, Modelling, Woodwork and Carving, and Painting and Decoration.²⁹⁷ These classes were taught by John Duncan, W.G. Burn-Murdoch, Mary Rose Hill Burton, S. Henbest Capper, Charles Mackie and others involved with the School.²⁹⁸ OESA also offered lectures, often architectural or of local interest, given by those such as Capper, Dr. J.G. Goodchild (a member of H.M. Geological Survey), and Patrick Geddes.²⁹⁹

Judging from the existing minutes of the School meetings, many of those who taught at the OESA were also in its board meetings. Those in attendance included Geddes, Dr. John Marshall, John Ross, H.C. Wyld, Dr. Riccardo Stephens, Victor Branford, S. Henbest Capper, W. Kinnard Rose, and James Cadenhead. The notable exception from the surviving minutes is that of School director John Duncan, and there is little mention of the reason for his absence, and yet more than likely due to the primary evidence that survives which shows Duncan in charge of the day-to-day running

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁹⁶ SUA T-GED 5/2/1, leaflet for the Old Edinburgh School of Art, October 1895.

²⁹⁷ SUA T-GED 5/2/1, leaflet for the Old Edinburgh School of Art, Classes for Spring Term 1894.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ SUA T-GED 5/2/1, leaflet for the Old Edinburgh School of Art, Public Lectures, 1895. Dr. J.G. Goodchild, geologist, should not be confused with Dr. J.A. Goodchild, theosophist and grail seeker, who was a connection through Fiona Macleod and William Sharp (and later John Duncan's wife, Christine Allen).

of the school, most historians, like Macmillan, still consider Duncan to be the head of the School.³⁰⁰ If Duncan was not attending board meetings, for whatever reason, then perhaps his role as head was more custodial, whereas Geddes and the others on the board shaped the message and role of the school.

The New Evergreen

It was through the partnership of Geddes with those resident in Ramsay Garden and in the self-governing halls of residence at Ramsay Garden University Hall that a small publication was created in December of 1893. The contributors were a mix of residents of Ramsay Garden as well as others from University Hall, Summer Schools and the Edinburgh Social Union. The small chapbook, featuring drawings, poems and two small essays, was entitled *The New Evergreen*, taking its title from the poet Allan Ramsay's book *The Ever Green: A Collection of Scots Poems* published in 1724. Ramsay's collection of 16th century Scots poems had been both popular and eclectic, perhaps by choosing a similar name for their publication the contributors wished for similar success.

Contributors felt they owed a creative debt to Allan Ramsay, and a few of the pieces of *The New Evergreen* used him for inspiration. Because Ramsay Garden incorporated Allan Ramsay's old home (Ramsay Lodge) it was thus integral to the community of writers and artists who created *The New Evergreen*.

³⁰⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, p. 23, Macmillan refers to Duncan as "in charge".

Artists and writers both proclaimed their debt to Ramsay in *The New Evergreen*. The introductory essay, “Essay Commendatory”, by W.M. and V.V.B. (William Macdonald and Victor Branford) stated “From Allan Ramsay we have taken our literary superscription, and trust it may be some amends for having borrowed his house; for we hope to be indebted to him in yet other ways before we have done.”³⁰¹ Among other contributions to *The New Evergreen*, artist James Cadenhead supplied a drawing called “From a Window in Ramsay Garden”, artist/writer Louis Weirter a drawing of “Ramsay Lodge”, and writer William Macdonald offered a poem called “Apology to the poet (outside)” in which he wrote:

Dear Allan, you must grudge to see
 Devouring change in low and high,-
 King George the Third is dead, and we
 Have swallowed up your own Goose-Pie.
 That way let Kings and Commons go,
 Palace and hutch fall ruinous;
 But Poets live forever- so
 Turn, come and ben, and bide with us.³⁰²

The New Evergreen was a success just by virtue of its existence. It was a tangible product of Geddes’s ideals. Unlike some of his other projects in Edinburgh, the Summer School, University Hall, his contributions to town planning, and even Ramsay

³⁰¹ W.M. and V.V.B, “Essay Commendatory”, *The New Evergreen: The Christmas Book of University Hall*, Edinburgh, 1894.

³⁰² This is the only reference made in Scots.

Garden, this was a small flowering of his ideas that could be held in the hand, read and passed on. In their essay Macdonald and Branford explained that *The New Evergreen* also showed a measurable evolution in University Hall:

For whoso cares to look may see that University Hall no longer means a group of young men, isolated and a little monastic, each intent on studying the law and the prophets of his own science, and living in the company of his fellows. We have gathered to us now representatives of many practical activities, professions, arts, and crafts- painters and men of law, geographers and students of finance, working journalists and surgeons in practice, the architect whose glory is to build, and the critic whose mission is to destroy. And as the system has widened in range, it has waxed more human and grown in grace.³⁰³

The New Evergreen remains one of the measurable outputs of Geddes's scheme to repopulate and revitalise the Old Town. It was also an explicit explanation of the aims of Ramsay Garden, which were:

To be a kindly caravanserai for the student from near and far; to be a progressive crystallisation of diverse social elements; to be a Workshop that may one day be considered a School of Art; to be a School of History which begins with the story of Old Edinburgh, and goes in time to the ends of the earth; and first and last, to be a receiving focus and a radiating centre of all that it is good to know and feel.³⁰⁴

The New Evergreen can be judged as a watershed for Geddes and his work in Edinburgh. Before the chapbook was published Geddes had primarily worked through

³⁰³ W.M. and V.V.B., "Essay Commendatory", *The New Evergreen*, 1894.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

existing organisations, and after it Geddes began in earnest to work towards his own agenda through his own organisations. Though he had created University Hall, Ramsay Garden and the OESA before he published *The New Evergreen*, it was after its publication in 1893 that he began to pursue his goal to get his message out through a variety of means, one of which involved the creation of the Celtic Renaissance.

It was with the production of *The New Evergreen* in December 1893, Geddes alighted on the idea of a Scottish Celtic identity. This is notable chiefly because the inspiration for *The New Evergreen* was the poet Allan Ramsay's *The Ever Green*, the compilation of 16th century Scots poetry. It is significant that Geddes choose a Celtic identity rather than a Scots one. A Celtic identity was more international, it could be embraced by the Breton, the Manx, the Cornish, and the Irish, as well as the Scots. A Scottish Celtic identity gave Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance the opportunity to use Celtic symbolism to construct a modern, international identity.

Chapter 4: The Celtic Renaissance

The purpose of this chapter is to closely examine Patrick Geddes's Celtic Renaissance, and through an investigation into the participants and output of the Celtic Renaissance, to come to conclusions about its meaning and purpose. The key to understanding of the Celtic Renaissance is *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, by interpreting *The Evergreen* it is possible to get a clearer picture of the movement.

Ramsay Garden

Because the architecture of Ramsay Garden was (and is) so distinctive looking, it is important to examine what, if any, was the purpose of the architecture of the building. The building is visually striking not only from the Castle Esplanade, but also as viewed from Princes Street (See Figure 16). Perhaps Geddes was making a statement both in location and in architecture, one which professed the importance of the Old Town and of Geddes's view of the importance of his work.

It is difficult to say how much the building itself made a statement of Celtic Renaissance. Gifford *et al* categorised it as a combination of "Scots baronial and English cottage styles".³⁰⁵ Crossland described it as "*Romantic* rather than *Traditional*."³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ J. Gifford, C. McWilliam, and D. Walker. (eds.), *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, (Middlesex, 1984) p. 191.

³⁰⁶ J. Crossland, *Victorian Edinburgh*, (Letchworth, 1966) p. 80. These are Crossland's italics.

McKean interpreted it as “Scots Revival with Teutonic overtones”.³⁰⁷ Walker goes so far as to call it “English in detail and material”.³⁰⁸ Nowhere is Ramsay Garden associated with a Celtic Renaissance in architecture, though architectural historians such as Gifford *et al* do point out the “Celtic Revival style”³⁰⁹ murals inside. These descriptions don’t give a deeper explanation of how Ramsay Garden fit into the revival of Celtic interests in the 1890s.

Ramsay Garden must be compared with Well Court in Edinburgh, designed by A.G. Sydney Mitchell for newspaper magnate J.R. Findlay in 1883 (See Figures 5 and 6). Comparing Well Court to Ramsay Garden makes it apparent that however the style is described, it is absolutely Mitchell’s style, possibly a reason that Geddes chose to work with Mitchell on two phases of the building. Mitchell’s designs on both Ramsay Garden and Well Court incorporate similar windows, gables and turrets, probably why both buildings are associated with the Scots Baronial style. This could lead to the conclusion that Ramsay Garden does not, on a purely stylistic basis, fit into a Celtic Renaissance at all. However, a deeper look at Well Court and Ramsay Garden shows differences. Well Court looks more heavy and medieval than Ramsay Garden. Built in 1883 as a workers village, it seems to exude the heavy obligations of modern serfdom. Ramsay Garden’s architecture is lighter, not just because of the contrast between Mitchell’s red sandstone and Capper’s white harling. Ramsay Garden has finer honed ornamentation, such as the work on Geddes’s sitting room overhang (See Figure 2).

³⁰⁷ C. McKean, *Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, (Edinburgh, 1992) p. 6.

³⁰⁸ F. Walker, “National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City” in *In Perspectives of the Scottish City*, G. Gordon (ed.), (Aberdeen, 1985) p. 152.

³⁰⁹ Gifford *et al*, *The Buildings of Scotland*, p. 192.

Additionally, while Well Court was built with the flats all the same size, Ramsay Garden had different sized flats for the different needs of its community. Ramsay Garden is a more modern building than Well Court, a significant difference. Well Court was built as a functional model of the Arts and Crafts ideal of workers housing. Findlay, a successful newspaper publisher, built the Well Court village for his workers, much as would be later seen in the model workers villages and towns of Cadbury and Rowntree. By creating Well Court Findlay improved the buildings, provided a hall for the workers (used for weekday leisure pursuits by the workers and religious services on Sundays) and provided improved sanitary conditions. Well Court was very much workers housing provided for them (at a fee, they had to pay rent to live there like anywhere else) by the company's owner.³¹⁰

Ramsay Garden was an entirely different proposition. Geddes had created a community not as an owner, but as a facilitator who sought to reinvigorate the Old Town of Edinburgh through bringing professors and students, artists and writers, intellectuals all, to live there. The people who lived in Ramsay Garden would own their flats outright, a mixture of old and young, families and single students, all participating in a community life that was nearly a collective. Though Mitchell worked as an architect on both buildings the intent and execution between Well Court and Ramsay Garden were very different indeed.

³¹⁰ "Modern Architecture in Scotland- No. XXI- Well Court, Water of Leith", *The British Architect: A Journal of Architecture and its Accessory Arts*, 23 August 1889, vol. XXXII, pp. 127-128 and "Architectural Drawings at the Royal Scottish Academy", *The Builder*, 20 March 1886, vol. L, p. 432.

University Hall and Edinburgh Social Union

In Ramsay Garden the self-governed student residence and Summer Meeting venue was also used in another way for Geddes to ‘speak’ to people. His construction of Ramsay Garden spoke to people through its architecture, and by its existence, of urban renewal and a different kind of thinking that married preservation and progress. He also wanted the building to speak in other ways. Geddes commissioned murals throughout Ramsay Garden (including his flat and the student residence common areas) by a number of artists he knew through his activities in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh Social Union³¹¹ put Geddes into contact with talented young artists like John Duncan, Charles Mackie (1862-1920), and Robert Burns (1869-1941). It also provided Geddes contact with the extraordinarily talented artist Phoebe Traquair (1852-1936). Irish-born (and confusingly associated with Ireland though she worked primarily in Scotland) Phoebe Traquair accomplished some of the Social Union’s most striking murals (See Figures 7 and 8). She worked on the murals in the Mortuary Chapel of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh and at the Song School of St Mary’s Cathedral in Edinburgh in the mid-1880s. It is worth asking why there is no mural work by Traquair in Ramsay Garden, but there has never been evidence that she painted there. Duncan Macmillan considered Traquair to have been “well equipped [...] as an interpreter of Geddes”,³¹² an opinion which is confounded by their short career of working together. Traquair stands out among the artists with which Geddes worked. Her career, both before and after her association with him, is relatively self-contained. Geddes generally worked with artists younger than himself, artists who could be influenced by him, who had a

³¹¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 73-76.

³¹² D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, (Edinburgh, 1990) p.273.

certain open-mindedness and willingness to be part of the informal Geddes program. Traquair was closer to Geddes's own age than the ages of his students/artists, and her career was strong enough not to need his overriding influence. Thus Traquair was atypical of the artists Geddes was involved with in both the Social Union and the Celtic Renaissance. It could be concluded that Geddes was not looking for just artists of talent in his work, but artists of a certain malleability as well. Traquair's career and her work were very much her own and the fact that they did not work together on projects after the Social Union murals speaks to neither one of them feeling there was much value to a continued working relationship.³¹³

Ramsay Garden Murals

In the 1890s Edinburgh was "as busy making art history on her walls as Glasgow is busy making it on her easels."³¹⁴ Geddes commissioned an estimated over eighty murals to decorate his own flat and the common areas of the University Hall residence in Ramsay Garden.³¹⁵ Most of the murals are no longer visible, those which are, are primarily located in the Common Room of the student residence area. Historian Clare A. P. Willsdon emphasised the importance of the Common Room murals because "[t]his was where such scholars as the geographer Elisée Reclus (1830-1905), the

³¹³ It is difficult to gauge whether or not Geddes and Traquair felt equally that their working relationship would not continue after the Edinburgh Social Union. Though it does seem likely both that Geddes worked more easily with younger more impressionable artists and that Traquair's independence in her work would make it difficult for her to work in a team effort.

³¹⁴ M. Armour, "Mural Decoration in Scotland. Part I.", *The Studio*, vol. 10, 1897, p. 103. Armour was a contributor to the *The Evergreen* (Autumn).

³¹⁵ C. Willsdon, "Paul Sérusier the Celt: did he paint murals in Edinburgh?", *Burlington Magazine*, Feb. 1984, vol. CXXXVI, no. 971, p. 88. Willsdon estimated over eighty murals were painted in Ramsay Garden.

educationalist and social theorist Edmond Demolins,³¹⁶ the biologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), and the psychologist William James (1842-1910) gathered each year for Geddes's Celtic Revivalist think-tank, his Summer Schools.³¹⁷ Cumming considered the Ramsay Garden murals to show that Geddes and his artists "forged an alternative art for Scotland built on a surge of romantic nationalism within the city and a desire to contribute positively to British art."³¹⁸ Macmillan saw the Common Room murals as "one of the pageants of history that he [Geddes] was so fond of, but one which stressed two things in particular, the Scottish scientific tradition and the role of the Scots in Europe."³¹⁹ John Morrison judged the Common Room murals emphasise "Scotland's internationalism as well as its individuality."³²⁰

However, what is of paramount importance in the Common Room murals is that Geddes's intentions in the construction of the murals are decoded. Duncan's murals in the Common Room are in two strains, ancient Celtic myth and legend and inspirational biographical paintings. The characters of Celtic myth were derived from the interlacing Irish and Scottish myth of Ossian.³²¹ Ossian (or in the Irish, Oisín) was an ancient Celtic bard, the last surviving of his line who sang his laments with a harp on a hillside. His tales were of the warrior Fionn and his band of Fianna, a noble race sleeping in the

³¹⁶ Student of the notable conservative sociologist Frederic Le Play (1806-1882).

³¹⁷ Clare A. P. Willson, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 274-5.

³¹⁸ E. Cumming, "A 'Gleam of Renaissance Hope': Edinburgh at the Turn of the Century", in W. Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates: 5000 years of Art and Design*, (London, 1990) p. 149.

³¹⁹ Macmillan, *Scottish Art: 1460-2000*, p. 297.

³²⁰ J. Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, (Edinburgh, 2003) p. 204.

³²¹ See also Chapter 5, pp. 148-153.

hills who would return eventually in their country's time of great need.³²² Duncan created murals entitled *The Awakening of Cuchullin* and *The Combat of Fionn* (Figures 12 and 24). Cuchullin is shown awaking from an enchanted sleep, a symbol of rebirth and regeneration. Fionn is shown in hand-to-hand combat with Swaran,³²³ the King of Norway.³²⁴ His eventual victory over Swaran restored peace, a story symbolising the triumph of good over evil and a victory of perseverance, or as Geddes calls it, a "type of physical energy and struggle upon the Heroic level."³²⁵ Geddes's choice of these two scenes for the Common Room seems to indicate a preoccupation with the regeneration of Scotland through myth and legend. Similar to the legend of King Arthur, Cuchullin was thought to sleep below in Scottish soil and to awaken when his country needed him. The Common Room murals show him in the process of awakening, thus Geddes has called him forth for some purpose. This purpose, as later stated by Geddes, was "Youth arising in his Strength and its opening Possibilities."³²⁶ Therefore Geddes felt not that a mythical hero was needed to save Scotland, but that the younger generation, once awoken, could lead Scotland to greater possibilities in all manner of regeneration.

The other murals in the Common Room are not part of the Ossianic cycle. Both *The Taking of Excalibur* and *The Journey of St. Mungo* (Figures 25 and 26) have Celtic content and themes of regeneration. In *The Taking of Excalibur* Arthur is riding in a rowboat with Merlin rowing towards a woman rising out of the lake holding the

³²² Ossian addressed further in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

³²³ C. Willson, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning* (Oxford, 2000), caption to figure 152, p. 280.

³²⁴ P. Geddes, *The Masque of Ancient Learning*, (Edinburgh, 1913) p. 49.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ P. Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, (London, 1923) p. 54.

sword.³²⁷ Arthur's taking of Excalibur symbolises the renewal of his destiny as King. The legend of Arthur also had strong connotations of revitalisation for Geddes, he explained the Arthurian mural as "the decisive spiritual adventure of Youth, and to the right service of Age and Experience towards its guidance".³²⁸ Judging the mural in light of his words, Geddes showed he saw the value of the past informing the future, at both the abstract or theoretical level, and on the level within personal and societal relationships. *The Journey of St. Mungo* is a similarly a story of rebirth. In Duncan's depiction St. Mungo, while escorting the body of the deceased St. Fergus, receives "Fergus's holy spirit"³²⁹ and enlists two bulls to aid him in carrying Fergus to his resting place. However, there is more behind the story of St. Mungo. Patron saint of Glasgow, St. Mungo (also called St. Kentigern) was said to be the son of a British prince called Owain and a British princess from Lothian called St. Thaney. It's possible that St. Mungo may have been a contemporary of St. Columba and King Rhydderch of Strathclyde, c. late 500s. By choosing St. Mungo for the Common Room murals Geddes was, intentionally or not, was expressing solidarity with Glasgow, and with the Gaels of Glasgow, who had created a cult of St. Mungo in the 600s.

The biographical murals in the Common Room are titled *The Vision of Johannes Scotus Erigena*, *Michael Scot* (Figure 9), *The Admirable Crichton*, *John Napier of Merchiston*, *James Watt* (Figure 29), *Sir Walter Scott*, *Charles Darwin* (Figure 30), and *Lord Lister* (Figure 28). The first four were executed before 1898, the latter five were

³²⁷ Kemplay names this woman as Morgan Le Fey, Arthur's half-sister, but it is also likely that it is the Lady of the Lake (T. Malory, *Le Morte D'arthur* (Oxford, 1998) p. 29.).

³²⁸ Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, (London, 1923) p. 54.

³²⁹ Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain*, p. 275.

executed later, c.1926-7. Geddes decided to use “world figures” of “kindred appeal”³³⁰ as inspirational personalities in the biographical portraits of the Common Room.

Though painted by Duncan, the murals were chosen by Geddes. Geddes, who, even as late as 1913, considered there to be “no more sustained and magnificent scheme of design and colour, no more vital symbolism has been produced by modern art in Scotland, indeed few such anywhere”³³¹ than the Ramsay Garden murals. Obviously the murals were linked in thematic connections of renewal and rebirth, as well as inspirational figures from the past, however they seem to have an underlying function as well. A clue can be found in Geddes’s interest in medieval history. The art of the Middle Ages was a tool of communication to those who could not read, an idea that assumes a body of knowledge that could be pictorially communicated, as well as an assumption of a basis of common knowledge.³³² Geddes may have been trying to communicate his ideas (and ideals) to the viewer through the murals. The location of the murals suggests not, as they were in the Common Room, which was used only by resident students, artists and intellectuals and Ramsay Garden (and guests at the Summer Meetings). Perhaps they were a teaching tool, to be used by Geddes at in-house lectures. An interpretation of the biographical murals provides an insight into this idea. Several of the figures are from Medieval and Renaissance history, a choice which enforces Geddes’s preoccupation with those periods as ideals of intellectual discovery.

³³⁰ NLS MSS 10517, letter from Geddes to Duncan, c.1924.

³³¹ Geddes, *The Masque of Ancient Learning*, p. 49.

³³² Morris, too, was heavily influenced by Medieval history, see Chapter 1, pp. 24-26.

The Vision of Johannes Scotus Erigena depicted John the Scot (of Irish birth) a philosopher of the Middle Ages.³³³ Scotus was a focus of *fin de siècle* interest, an article on his achievements was featured in *The Contemporary Review* in 1897.³³⁴ What Geddes probably found most interesting about Scotus was that though he lived in a time of “semi-barbarous people” he achieved greatness “in the sphere of philosophy.”³³⁵ This seems closely related to Ossian’s achievements in poetry in a time of so-called savages, as well as the later appeal of his work to 18th and 19th century audiences. Also like Ossian, Scotus is credited with a “Celtic eloquence”³³⁶ in his work.

Michael Scot (?-1236), sometimes called a wizard, was a translator and philosopher who had interests in medicine, astronomy and alchemy.³³⁷ He travelled extensively in Europe, usually in conjunction with his work as a translator of scientific and philosophical texts. Geddes’s draw to Scot as an inspirational figure is most likely based on his varied interests in the sciences as well as his appeal as a magical Merlin-like figure.³³⁸

³³³ He is also known as John Scottus, John Erigena and John Scottus Eriugena. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* disputes his connection with Scotland.

³³⁴ W. Larminie, “Joannes Scotus Erigena”, *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXI, April 1897, pp. 557-572.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 559, quoting Preudentius of Troyes.

³³⁷ Michael Scot was the subject of “The Lay of the Last Minstrel: A Poem”, written by Sir Walter Scott and published in 1805. C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689- c.1830*, (Cambridge, 1993), p. 258, fn. 17, found that Ossian was a considerable influence on Scott’s “The Lay of the Last Minstrel”.

³³⁸ Dante was less impressed by Scot and in *Inferno* placed him among the sorcerers in hell.

The Admirable Crichton depicts James Crichton (1560-1582), a Scottish scholar and adventurer who was considered the model of a gentleman of culture. The legend of James Crichton is that he was a quintessential renaissance figure, a master of language, art and science, as well as chivalrous fellow, a gentleman. This legend was a draw to Geddes obviously because of Crichton's generalism, his connections to the time of the Renaissance, but perhaps also because of his reputed chivalrous and gentlemanly ways. If this true, than perhaps the murals also served as illustrations to what Geddes felt the *fin de siècle* man was lacking.

The final character in the first phase of the Common Room was John Napier of Merchiston (1550-1617) who was a Scottish mathematician and the inventor of logarithms. Geddes had chosen Napier not only for his mathematical genius, but also his "reputation for wizardry",³³⁹ for Geddes seemed to enjoy the equation between the sciences and magic. Napier seems a natural choice for the sciences aspects of Geddes's research and teaching.³⁴⁰ Most of the characters featured in the initial murals of the Ramsay Garden Common Room were of earlier historical periods than those in the later phase of painting. The focus of the 1890s phase of murals seem to concentrate on the magic of the past, including legends (the Ossianic and Arthurian murals), real or perceived sorcery or spiritual magic (Johannes Scotus Erigena, Michael Scot and St. Mungo) and intellectual pursuits (Crichton and Napier).

³³⁹ P. Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, (London, 1923) p. 147.

³⁴⁰ Indeed, in the "Masques of Ancient Learning" he depicts Napier teaching Henry Briggs the "Bones" of logarithms- the master finding the worthy disciple and passing on the gift of knowledge which in turn becomes the disciple's calling (Ibid, pp. 147-148.).

The figures in the newer phase of the Common Room Murals were James Watt (1736-1819), a Scottish engineer and the inventor of the steam engine,³⁴¹ Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), the well known Scottish author who specialised in historical novels, Charles Darwin (1809-1882), a graduate of Edinburgh University in medicine and the inventor of evolutionary theory and Lord Joseph Lister (1827-1912), a surgeon at the Glasgow Royal Infirmary and the founder of antiseptic medicine. The fact that all these figures were rather recent men of science and invention shows that Geddes found his own time to be saturated with advances in literature and science. Not only does he illustrate this in his murals, but he married the arts and sciences together through his inclusion of Scott, showing that he felt the arts and sciences should be viewed as interdependent, something he expressed as that “[t]he studies of sun and stars, of rock and flower, of beast and man, of race and destiny are becoming once more a single discipline”.³⁴²

If Geddes envisioned these men, with their lives, ideas, concepts and legacies, as teaching aids, it stands to reason that they should have been completed during the same period as the others. It is possible that overriding financial constraints stopped them from being completed by 1898. Although Geddes’s may have planned the mural scheme of the Common Room to be a lecturing aid as well as an inspirational backdrop,

³⁴¹ P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, (New York, 1971) p. 60, called Watt “the Prometheus of steam”.

³⁴² P. Geddes, “The Sociology of Autumn”, *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895, p. 29.

because they remained unfinished until c.1927 they could not be utilised to their full potential.³⁴³

However, in Geddes's book *Dramatisations in History*,³⁴⁴ the guide to the masques he presented in Britain, he included information about Napier, Watt, Scott, the Admirable Crichton, Ossian and King Arthur, all of whom were depicted in Common Room murals.³⁴⁵ Geddes's preoccupation with these figures suggests that he found them beneficial in illustrating points he made when teaching, both through lectures and everyday living, as well as additionally in pageants or masques. Another factor that ties the mural subjects together is that the majority of them share a Scottish heritage, with a few exceptions. With portraits of so many influential intellectual Scots in one room Geddes was making a statement about Scotland's glorious past, harking back to Ossian and Cuchullin, and its recent, intellectually successful present, Lord Lister and James Watt.

The links between the murals cannot be underestimated, after all, Geddes had planned the subjects carefully over a series of years, and the same figures came to the forefront of at least one other project, that of his masques. Not only were the figures linked through Geddes's interest into their areas of specialisation, they were also linked

³⁴³ NLS MS 10517, Letter to John Duncan from Patrick Geddes, dated 2 February 1926, refers to a donor who paid for Duncan to finish the Ramsay Garden Common Room murals, Geddes confirms the subjects to be "Napier, Watt, Scott, Darwin, Lister!" and NLS MS 10549, Letter to Patrick Geddes from John Duncan, dated 3 Jul 1927 refers to Duncan completing the murals.

³⁴⁴ Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, pp. 51, 138, 147, and 159.

³⁴⁵ Interestingly, even though the last five murals were not completed until 1927, Geddes used the same people in his earlier works *Dramatisations of History* and *The Masque of Ancient Learning*.

originally by the decorative embellishment of Celtic design which connected the various panels. While Duncan had painted the murals themselves independently, the decorative Celtic border-work was often done by Helen Hay, Helen (Nellie) Baxter and Marion Mason.³⁴⁶ Though Duncan found their work satisfactory, he was not pleased by the situation. He wrote Geddes in October 1894 and said:

One man one job is a good principle in decorative work[.] Two intelligences cannot work upon one design- One must design and one must slave [.] But Slavery is inconsistent with the idea of the School [The Old Edinburgh School of Art] which aims at the development of initiative[.] And good pictures cannot be painted by slaves[.] I should not like [Hay's and Mason's] the painting of the bordering to outrun the painting of the panelling [sic], as I wish to keep the two in sympathy.³⁴⁷

The idea of “One man one job” in decorative art was one of the founding principles of the Arts and Crafts movement.³⁴⁸ If Duncan had taken this ideal to heart, as he seems to in the above passage, it is a strong sign that the Old Edinburgh School of Art was strongly influenced by Arts and Crafts ideals.

³⁴⁶ Hay, Baxter and Mason were also contributors to *The Evergreen*, which is discussed below. Alice Gray was also known for mural work and was a contributor to *The Evergreen*, it is possible she worked on murals or decorative art in Ramsay Garden as well.

³⁴⁷ SUA T-GED 12/9/30, unsigned letter from Duncan to Geddes, dated 25/10/4. (1894).

³⁴⁸ This idea about the worth of a single painter's work on a mural expressing a single idea is also found in G. Brown, “Some Recent Efforts in Mural Decoration”, *The Scottish Art Review*, January 1889, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 226.

Additional Ramsay Garden Murals

Geddes had envisioned many murals for Ramsay Garden. Another mural scheme Duncan created for Geddes at Ramsay Garden was a frieze in the hall of Geddes's flat, and the subject was the history of the bagpipe. Duncan sought advice on the murals from Sir William Craigie (1867-1957), professor at St. Andrews, possibly a connection from Duncan's Dundee days. In his letter to Craigie Duncan asked for advice and gave a description of what his ideas for the murals were, which included: "reeds in a state of nature blown in the wind", "Pan teaching Apollo (as the first musician) to play upon pan-pipes", "pipes that played before Moses", "A Bacchauslian Orgie with satyrs playing bagpipe and Maenads with other pipes and diverse instruments", "The Pied Piper of Hamelin", "another medieval piper", "some on the Scotch pipers and here I feel my utter incapability for the Task and lift my hands up imploringly to you for assistance" and finally, "Claverhouse being carried from the field with the pipes of the Highland Clans that fought with him marching beside their slain chief".³⁴⁹ The bagpipe murals no longer remain, though Armour's article in *The Studio* offers an opinion on their reception in 1895, and especially praised "Mr. Duncan's genius for the blending of dramatic and decorative treatment. The colour in the whole series is very beautiful, the drawing able and full of style."³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ NLS MSS 9987, letter from John Duncan to Sir William Craigie, 25 April 1893. Some of the described panels seem to have made it into *The Evergreen* in the form of engravings, a phenomenon that will be discussed later.

³⁵⁰ Armour, "Mural Decoration in Scotland. Part I.", *The Studio*, p. 103. This praising article was not without its bias, Armour was a contributor to *The Evergreen*.

Geddes's artists in Ramsay Garden, included, as well as Duncan, Charles Mackie (1862-1920), Robert Burns (1869-1941), W.G. Burn-Murdoch (1862-1939), and Mary Rose Hill Burton (1857-1900). Willsdon identified other possible mural contributors in French artist (and friend of Mackie's) Paul Sérusier (1863-1927) and Glasgow Boy E.A. Hornel (1864-1933).³⁵¹ The fact that Sérusier and Hornel may have contributed is a significant point, illustrating the interconnection between the Celtic Renaissance in Edinburgh and other movements, both Scottish and international. Though Duncan's murals in Ramsay Garden are now more better known, Mackie, Burns,³⁵² Burn-Murdoch and Burton's murals were all significant as well. The differences between them were content-based as well as stylistic. Duncan's murals were painted with much precision, very like his paintings. His main influence stylistically has always been cited as the French Symbolist artist Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898),³⁵³ through in his notebooks (held at the National Library of Scotland) Duncan recorded a number of influences, including Egyptian and Renaissance art.³⁵⁴

Since the content of Duncan's murals was approved by Geddes, it is very likely that the other artists had their murals approved by Geddes as well. Mackie's artistic

³⁵¹ Willsdon, "Paul Sérusier the Celt: did he paint murals in Edinburgh?", *Burlington Magazine*, p. 88. This article brings up some very useful questions about who participated in the mural scheme. If people like Hornel and Sérusier are possibilities, then Traquair is a possibility too, though a bit unlikely.

³⁵² Burns did not give up on mural work after Ramsay Garden, his best known later murals are those in Crawford's Tearooms in Edinburgh, 1923-7 (Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, (2000) p. 331.).

³⁵³ J. Kemplay, *The Paintings of John Duncan: A Scottish Symbolist*, (San Francisco, 1994) p. 11, Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000) p. 297, C. Willsdon, "The Ramsay Garden Murals and Their Links with French Mural Painting", *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, Vol. 9, 2004, p. 69, and Amour, "Mural Decoration in Scotland, Part I", *The Studio*, p. 104. M. Macdonald cites Traquair as well as Puvis de Chavannes as influences on Duncan, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000) pp. 154-155.

³⁵⁴ NLS Acc 6866, John Duncan's notebooks

style was possibly influenced by his friendships with Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and Paul Sérusier, indeed Macmillan argued this,³⁵⁵ and with the additional evidence Willsdon provided for Sérusier's possible murals in Ramsay Garden, it seems likely.³⁵⁶ Mackie's style was different than Duncan's, softer and less precise. Mackie created his panels in Kirkcudbright (c.1893) and shipped them to Edinburgh to be installed. Mackie wrote letters to Geddes to give him progress reports on the panels, confirming that Geddes had content control over the panels he wrote "[y]ou need have no fear of my springing anything on you out of caprice and away from our arrangement."³⁵⁷ Mackie's panels were of seasonal theme, including leaves scattered by the wind, rowan berries ripe for summer and storks.³⁵⁸ Mary Rose Hill Burton had been a family friend of Patrick and Anna Geddes for some time before becoming involved in Geddes's artistic endeavours.³⁵⁹ Her murals were in Geddes's flat in Ramsay Garden, one large central panel "celebrates Burton's ancestral Highland home Kilravock Castle"³⁶⁰ with her other panels also depicting Scottish landscapes. Burton's other murals, in the student residences, "represented the seasons and suggested her admiration for Japanese art."³⁶¹ The seasons and depictions of the seasons obviously strongly effected Geddes, both Burton and Mackie created seasonal panels for Geddes. The theme of seasons and

³⁵⁵ Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000) p. 279.

³⁵⁶ Willsdon, "Paul Sérusier the Celt: did he paint murals in Edinburgh?", *Burlington Magazine*, Feb. 1984, vol. CXXXVI, no. 971.

³⁵⁷ SUA T-GED 9/78, letter from Mackie to Geddes, dated October 26th, 1893.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. These seasonal murals were echoed in the seasonal content of *The Evergreen*.

³⁵⁹ Burton taught at the Old Edinburgh School of Art and at the Summer Meetings, she may have also worked with the Edinburgh Social Union in mural work, Baldwin Brown's article cites Burton as working on murals at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. Brown, "Some Recent Efforts in Mural Decoration", *The Scottish Art Review*, January 1889, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 228.

³⁶⁰ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure*, (Hants, 2000) p. 123.

³⁶¹ Ibid. The influence of Japanese art was something Burton shared with Hornel and Henry, all the artists traveled to Japan for further study.

nature are revealed ever more strongly in the journal masterminded by Geddes, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (1895-1897).

The Old Edinburgh School of Art

The scope of teaching that Geddes desired was boundless. He started the Old Edinburgh School of Art in 1892, possibly influenced by the foundation of the Edinburgh Social Union.³⁶² John Duncan was made president of the Old Edinburgh School of Art from its inception until 1900 when he left to work in America, and the school closed.³⁶³ The School's purpose, as set out in its "Statement of Aims",³⁶⁴ stated that "this school is not in competition with any existing school in Edinburgh or elsewhere; but has distinct objects of public and educational usefulness."³⁶⁵ The School hoped

to appeal to students who have already acquired some preliminary training, workmen who have already mastered the essentials of handicrafts, painters and architects who have studied their profession, and endeavours to organise their efforts upon the City much as in every city during the middle ages, the Cathedral + the civic + corporate buildings were the recognized centres of artistic life.³⁶⁶

³⁶² See Chapter 2, p. 49-54 and Chapter 3, 68-71.

³⁶³ Though Duncan was recognised as the head of the Old Edinburgh School of Art, none of the existing minutes for meetings of the School include Duncan, an interesting situation, as all other evidence, including paying the bills and requests for funding point to Duncan as head of the School.

³⁶⁴ SUA T-GED 12/9/30 (12/1/53), Aims of University Hall School of Art, undated.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

While these ideals about its targeted student-base may seem to follow in the Arts and Crafts tradition, Geddes felt that its purpose was of its own making, and indeed was completely separate from what he felt Arts and Crafts had come to represent.³⁶⁷

Many of those who taught at the Old Edinburgh School of Art were also in its board meetings, judging from the remaining minutes of the School meetings. Those in attendance included Geddes, Dr. John Marshall,³⁶⁸ John Ross, H.C. Wyld (1870-1945), Dr. Riccardo Stephens, Victor Branford (1863-1930), S. Henbest Capper, W. Kinnard Rose, and James Cadenhead (1858-1927).³⁶⁹ The notable exception from the surviving minutes is that of School director John Duncan, and there is little mention of the reason for his absence, and yet more than likely due to the primary evidence that survives which shows Duncan in charge of the day-to-day running of the school, most historians, like Macmillan, still consider Duncan to be the head of the School.³⁷⁰ If Duncan was not attending board meetings, for whatever reason, then perhaps his role as head was more custodial, whereas Geddes and the others on the board shaped the message and role of the school.

The Old Edinburgh School of Art also had occasional art exhibitions. These shows featured the murals of Ramsay Garden, sketches, including some for art in *The Evergreen*, models, paintings, drawings, book covers, textile designs, metal work,

³⁶⁷ See Chapter 3, pp. 73-5.

³⁶⁸ Possibly John H. Marshall, archaeologist, (1876-1958).

³⁶⁹ SUA T-GED 5/1/17, The Old Edinburgh School of Art Minute Book.

³⁷⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, p. 23, Macmillan refers to Duncan as “in charge”.

leather work, silver work, furniture, jewellery, wood carving and bent iron work.³⁷¹

Those featured in the exhibition included John Duncan, Helen Hay, Nellie Baxter,

Marion Mason, Charles Mackie, James Cadenhead, A.G. Sinclair, G.S. Aitken, Mary

Rose Hill Burton, Anne Mackie, Christina A. Mackenzie, John Marshall, Effie Ramsay,

John Gibson, John G. Milne, Amy C. Shipton, Miss Norton, Miss Black and Mrs.

Maclaren.³⁷² A message in an exhibition catalogue, possibly written by John Duncan,

expressed a “main interest of the School is in the preservation and improvement of the

Old Town itself.”³⁷³ The School intended to do this through collecting reference

materials, “photographs, engravings, and other records of the Old Town”,³⁷⁴ and through

“popular lectures”³⁷⁵ for the public, which were used “to help on the re-awakening of

interest in Old Edinburgh”.³⁷⁶

It is very possible that Ramsay Garden (in its entirety, including all programmes based in Ramsay Garden) was a social experiment created by Geddes. There was too much of the scientist in him for the circumstances of its creation and function to be pure accident. He had created an experimental group (Ramsay Garden) within a control group (Old Town Edinburgh). Within the controlled surroundings, as Geddes’s own informal research had shown (when he first moved into Old Town) that very little would change unless change was instigated by an outside force. This is easily illustrated by his

³⁷¹ SUA T-GED 5/3/15, Catalogue of the Old Edinburgh School of Art Exhibition, no date.

³⁷² Ibid., many of those listed here are students of the Old Edinburgh School of Art whose work has since been lost.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

early home in James Court in 1887. Geddes and Anna encouraged the residents of their tenement building to clean up their flats and their close, partly by the Geddeses themselves working on their flat and the close.³⁷⁷ Geddes may have seen Ramsay Garden as the same type of experiment on a larger scale. He used it as tool in resettling and revitalising the Old Town, he used it as a base for his international Summer Meetings, as a basis for popular pageants to bring culture and festivity to the Old Town. The Old Edinburgh School of Art was used in a similar way through its lectures and exhibitions, as well as thorough the art and artists themselves. As was stated above, one of the aims of the School was to help in the preservation, resettlement and restoration of the Old Town. This combination of factors makes a strong case for the argument that Geddes created Ramsay Garden as an experiment in social reconstruction, and that it was a successful experiment.

Patrick Geddes and Colleagues Publishing Company

Ramsay Garden and the Outlook Tower³⁷⁸ served as a home to the Patrick Geddes and Colleagues Publishing Company and the Old Edinburgh School of Art during the period 1892-1900, about the same length of time as Geddes's other projects, such as the Summer Meetings. The Geddes and Colleagues Publishing venture was listed as the publisher of the periodical *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (1895-

³⁷⁷ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 112-115.

³⁷⁸ The Outlook Tower (formerly Short's Observatory) with its *camera obscura* was purchased by Geddes c.1891, around the same time as Ramsay Garden. He turned the Tower into a sociological museum, a place where the visitor could see all of Edinburgh and relate the city to the rest of the world.

1897).³⁷⁹ Geddes formed the publishing company c.1894 with the help of author William Sharp (1855-1905). Sharp, who was born in Paisley and worked in London and Glasgow, was the author of poems and biographies, as well as newspaper columns, such as in the *Glasgow Herald*. Between 1894 and 1895 Sharp was contacted by Geddes about moving up to Edinburgh to work with him. Sharp's reply indicated wariness about uprooting his life from London, and the additional financial worries that moving would cause. He overcame his own doubts and wrote Geddes "I am sure you are right about Edinburgh versus London."³⁸⁰ Sharp began travelling up to Edinburgh sometime in early 1895 to become a Managing Editor in the firm, along with Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson (1861-1933).³⁸¹

The publishing firm was set up to facilitate the publication of *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*.³⁸² Bills for *The Evergreen*'s engraving fees were sent to Geddes and Colleagues from Dr. Hare and Company Limited, Draughtsmen and Engravers, from March 1895 for the first issue of *The Evergreen*.³⁸³ Bills were sent for the engraving fees of subsequent issues, showing that Geddes and Colleagues facilitated the production of all four issues of *The Evergreen*, though the periodical was actually published by T. Fisher Unwin of London and printed by T&A Constable of Edinburgh.

³⁷⁹ *The Evergreen* deserves careful consideration and will be examined in detail later in this chapter. Though Patrick Geddes and Colleagues were listed as the publisher of *The Evergreen*, it was published by T. Fischer Unwin and printed by T&A Constable. William Morris also created his own publishing company with Kelmscott Press in 1891.

³⁸⁰ NLS MSS 10563, letter from Sharp to Geddes, 21 January 1895.

³⁸¹ SUA T-GED 8/1/2, proposal outline for the Geddes & Colleagues Publishing Company. Thomson was co-author with Geddes on *The Evolution of Sex*, published 1889.

³⁸² Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 99 cites the company as formed in 1893. Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 148 cites the start of the company at 1894. Invoices from NLS MSS 10649 are dated from 1895 onwards.

³⁸³ NLS MSS 10649, business paperwork for Patrick Geddes & Colleagues.

Publishing was not a new interest to Geddes. He had shown an interest in publishing since the publication of early pamphlets such as *Every Man his Own Art Critic* c.1888. But *The Evergreen* was the first time he had called for a “Scots Renaissance”,³⁸⁴ and so the first time he sought to use a publication specifically for cultural regeneration.

The publications of Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, in addition to *The Evergreen*, included: *The Sin Eater* and *The Washer of the Ford* both by Fiona Macleod, *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson, edited and with an introduction by William Sharp, *The Shadows of Arvor* by Edith Wingate Rinder, *Lyra Celtica* edited by Elizabeth A. Sharp (with introduction and notes by William Sharp), *The Fiddler of the Carne* by Ernest Rhys, all published c. 1895-1897, all with covers designed by Helen Hay.³⁸⁵ The publications of Patrick Geddes and Colleagues’s achieved a modest success, by far the most successful were *Lyra Celtica* and the various works of Fiona Macleod. While they brought small financial gain to the company, their longevity in republication (usually by other publishers) assured Geddes and Colleagues a reputation for Celtic-inspired literature.

Geddes found the Patrick Geddes and Colleagues publishing venture a learning experience.³⁸⁶ Though there was no overriding reason why he should have had to shut

³⁸⁴ P. Geddes, “The Scots Renaissance”, *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895.

³⁸⁵ SUA T-GED 5/3/15, the Catalogue for the Old Edinburgh School of Art Exhibition, no date (c.1898).

³⁸⁶ Perhaps primarily a financial learning experience. In a letter in 1931 Geddes wrote to his protégé Lewis Mumford in 1931, ““But the writer can’t sell his books- nor the painter his pictures! (That’s how with William Sharp and Fiona Macleod & Evergreen etc., our pretty books lost me thirty years ago my

down the company, he seems to have done so c. 1915.³⁸⁷ There is little concrete evidence for this, but this is the same time he moved on from Edinburgh, he spent much more time in London, India, Israel and France from this time on. Even after the company seemed to have closed, and Geddes vacated Edinburgh, he was still involved himself with getting materials published, such as the memorial volume to Marjory Kennedy Fraser (1857-1930) published in 1931.³⁸⁸ Geddes masterminded the project, however, not from as a publisher, he was yet again back in the role of facilitator.

The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal

The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal, the manifesto of the Celtic Renaissance, was one of Geddes's finest projects as a facilitator. It began innocuously enough, inspired by the legacy of Allan Ramsay and by the raw talent of some of those gathered about University Hall. In December 1893 Geddes organised the publication of a little book, not more than forty pages, called *The New Evergreen*.³⁸⁹ Geddes's devotion to the legacy of Allan Ramsay was proved four times over in his early work in Edinburgh. First, he built around Ramsay's goose-pie house, preserving it in the centre of the building, using it as the physical centre of the sprawling building. Geddes even

main available capital')", F. Novak Jr. (ed.), *Lewis Mumford & Patrick Geddes: The Correspondence*, (London, 1995) p. 315.

³⁸⁷ Among its last publications were V. Branford, *St. Columba*, 1913, and the name Patrick Geddes and Colleagues was kept in use in the reprints of *Dramatisations of History* until at least 1923. Likely the last publication under the name Patrick Geddes and Colleagues was *Our Singer and Her Songs*, a memorial volume to Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, published in 1931.

³⁸⁸ SUA T-GED 9/1798, letter from M. Kennedy to Geddes 13 December 1930 asking about contributions to a tribute volume to Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and about using Duncan's portrait of her in it, 9/1753 letter from Duncan to Geddes 5 October 1930, Duncan proposed the J. Pittendrigh Macgillivray make a sculpture of Kennedy-Fraser.

³⁸⁹ See Chapter 3, pp.81-84.

described Ramsay Garden as having “absorbed Allan Ramsay’s old ‘goosepie’ into its new buildings”.³⁹⁰ Second, he retained the Ramsay name for the project, calling it Ramsay Garden (replacing its previous name of Ramsay Lodge). The name Ramsay Garden was then attached to all the endeavours of the University Hall, the Old Edinburgh School of Art and the Summer School, showing the legacy to all and sundry. Third, Geddes and an early group at University Hall created *The New Evergreen*, a tribute in name to Ramsay and including an introductory essay that acknowledged their grateful debt for “having borrowed his house”³⁹¹ and his literary legacy. Last, Geddes did not rest on the laurels of *The New Evergreen*, but improved and expanded the ideas therein and went on to produce the more substantial periodical to herald a Celtic Renaissance, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*.

Geddes wrote little about the influence of the legacy of Allan Ramsay on his Edinburgh projects, though when he did he always attributed the start of *The New Evergreen* and *The Evergreen* to Ramsay’s legacy. In 1895 he wrote that *The New Evergreen* was produced

of course, in memory of Allan’s ‘Evergreen’ of 1726, a collection of simple verse, perhaps without great merit of their own, but which served, as modest books may do, to suggest better things to others [...] The whole edition of this ‘New Evergreen’ was taken up privately in University Hall and the editorial committee (there was no editor, indeed, nor hardly is yet, but

³⁹⁰ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, *Evergreen Cuttings Book*.

³⁹¹ W. Macdonald and V. Branford, “Essay Commendatory”, *The New Evergreen*, (Edinburgh, 1893).

what I may perhaps describe as a struggle for existence!) decided on a public and larger venture-
The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal.³⁹²

When those gathered at University Hall in December 1894 constructed *The New Evergreen* they were inspired in part by the “soil consecrated so long ago as Allan Ramsay’s day to the Muses”,³⁹³ soil on which now stood Geddes’s Ramsay Garden. Geddes was just as much an inspiration to the output of the University Hall as Ramsay’s legacy. Both encouraged the inhabitants to look to the past for inspiration, as Ramsay did with his 1726 *Ever Green* anthology, and as Geddes did for the basis of the Celtic Renaissance he was trying to create in the Old Town. Geddes’s efforts in Old Town Edinburgh were more than just a small periodical and a new building. Geddes had expanded his projects on a large scale to create a living cultural renaissance that effected Edinburgh, Scotland and Europe.

The slight volume of *The New Evergreen* thus gave life to *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, each volume of which was about 100 pages. *The Evergreen* as published seasonally in Spring 1895, Autumn 1896, Summer 1896 and Winter 1896-7.³⁹⁴ As befitting its seasonal publication and seasonal issue titles, *The Evergreen* was

³⁹² SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Geddes, “The Evergreen”, October 1895.

³⁹³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Unattributed article, no date.

³⁹⁴ For a full list of contributors please see Appendix B.

divided up into four sections in each issue: the season in Nature, the season in life, the season in the world, and the season in the North.³⁹⁵

For one who was not considered “the editor,”³⁹⁶ Geddes shouldered a great deal of the responsibilities of *The Evergreen* and it was his hard work and enthusiasm that really pulled the volume together. Geddes had a clear, unwavering idea as to what *The Evergreen* should be. A mimeographed letter to contributors of *The Evergreen* in reference to the Summer volume enumerates these ideas to the contributors. He wrote,

[t]he SUMMER EVERGREEN is to be ready for publication in May, and its four fundamental sections will be treated (in Essays, Tales, Poems, & Illustrations) from the point of view of the Summer season in Nature, in Human Life, in the World, and in Scotland.³⁹⁷

He encouraged submission of “the Naturalist’s poetry of Summer as Nature’s climax”,³⁹⁸ or articles relating to the naturalist’s view of life, for Summer in Nature. He requested submissions of works detailing “the fulness [sic] of human joy and vigour, when man and his aims are most vivid to himself; when the enthusiasm of Youth is

³⁹⁵ For example: I. Spring in Nature, II. Spring in Life, III. Spring in the World, and IV. Spring in the North.

³⁹⁶ The Evergreen seems to have been edited by fluid committee, chief among whom were William Macdonald and Victor Branford. SUA T-GED 8/1/1, Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book, 1895.

³⁹⁷ SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Geddes’s correspondence re: *The Evergreen*, no date. (Likely 1896)

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

ripening into deep culture”³⁹⁹ for Summer in Life. Summer in the World was requested to be embodied by “treats of the various manifestations of the season in different countries, and some of the old customs peculiar to it.”⁴⁰⁰ Finally, for the regionally specific Summer in the North, Geddes wanted “northern summer is here described, Celtic customs and superstitions, the Summer of Scotland’s history.” In this section he specifically mentioned “a Tale by Miss Fiona Macleod based on curious authentic survival of Sun Worship and Sacrifice in Sutherland.”⁴⁰¹

The contributors to *The Evergreen* are significant by what they published in the journal as well as by who they were and what groups they represented. They received little or no financial reward for their submissions, so their motive was not financial.⁴⁰² There are a few other obvious motivations for being associated with the journal: to increase their own public profile, because association with Geddes and Ramsay Garden had led to their submission, and/or a belief in the ideals expressed by Geddes and others in *The Evergreen*.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid. This proposed tale was not included in the published version, William Sharp published the poem “Oceanus”, Fiona Macleod the poems “Under the Rowans” and “A Summer Air” and the tales “The Kingdom of the Earth” (from *The Washer of the Ford*) and “The Gypsy King comes to visit the Christ Child”.

⁴⁰² SUA, T-GED 8/1/1, Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, the meeting from 2 December 1895 recounted large financial loss by the Spring issue of *The Evergreen*, various cutbacks were proposed, and because they were trading at a loss, it was decided it “was impossible to make any pecuniary return to contributors.”

To begin determining the significance of the contributors it's useful to know who they were and what affiliations they may have had. Out of the 65 contributors, a wide variety of nationalities contributed to *The Evergreen*. The contributors were 51% Scottish, 18% untraceable nationalities, 11% French, 7.5% English, 7.5% Irish and 5% other nationalities (See Table 1). Only 13% of the total contributors to *The Evergreen* had been contributors to *The New Evergreen*. There is evidence the contributors and/or their submissions were chosen carefully, including a few letters to Geddes that asked for their works to be included or suggested a friend's works be included and lists of who would be approached for submissions.⁴⁰³ It can be inferred from this that even though Geddes was not sole editor in name, it was still he and his vision that controlled the final product of *The Evergreen*.

The Evergreen contained a fairly wide variety of submissions, in total 32% drawings (not including head- and tail-pieces), 30% poetry, 21% fiction, 12 % articles (science, nature or general interest), 4% articles in French and 1% other (See Table 2). *The New Evergreen*'s submissions were narrower, comprised of which were 50% poetry, 25% art and 15% articles (See Table 3). These tabulations show that both *The Evergreen* and *The New Evergreen* were very visual publications with a high content of poetry. Since it was Geddes who had the final say about content and contributors, this must reflect his vision of what was critical to influencing readers towards cultural regeneration.

⁴⁰³ SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Geddes's correspondence re: *The Evergreen*.

Each contributor brought their own agenda and experiences into their submissions to *The Evergreen*. Out of the 65 total contributors, three were associated with the Glasgow Boys; Pittendrigh Macgillivray, E.A. Hornel and George Henry. Macgillivray was a sculptor and artist and Hornel worked primarily on paintings.⁴⁰⁴ Macgillivray's contributions of poetry and art carried no overt relation to his Glasgow circle, and Hornel's *Madame Chrysantheme* related to his growing interest in Japanese art.⁴⁰⁵ One contributor was associated with Scottish Kailyard fiction, S.R. Crockett. Crockett's contribution was a poem which bore little relation to his Kailyard works, and which was dated 1887. Two contributors were associated with the Irish Celtic Revival, Standish O'Grady⁴⁰⁶ and Douglas Hyde (1860-1949).⁴⁰⁷ Hyde contributed a poem and a story, both Celtic in theme, as was Standish O'Grady's contribution, a story called "Dermot's Spring".

As for the rest of the contributors those without ties to well known groups far outweighed those with them. The percentages introduced earlier give an idea of the

⁴⁰⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 46-49.

⁴⁰⁵ This related to others in the Celtic Renaissance who were also interested in Japan and Japanese art, namely Hornel's friend and sometimes artistic collaborator (as in *The Druids Bringing Home the Mistletoe* 1890), George Henry, and Ramsay Garden muralist, OESA teacher and Geddes family friend Mary Rose Hill Burton. Also see this chapter, p. 98.

⁴⁰⁶ There are two Standish O'Grady's active at this time, Standish Hayes O'Grady and Standish James O'Grady. Standish Hayes O'Grady (1832-1915) was a scholar, and writer of a *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Standish James O'Grady (1846-1928) was a cousin of the former, an historian, a lawyer, and a writer of popularised myth and legend tales. It is more likely that it is the latter O'Grady, as he was involved in more popular media publications, and a list from SUA T-GED 8/1/2, Geddes's papers re: *The Evergreen*, refers to a "Standish O'Grady, Esq."

⁴⁰⁷ Hyde was the first president of the Gaelic League in Ireland, as well as the first president of Ireland, from 1937-1945.

nationalities involved, as they also do about areas of content (See Tables 1 and 2). What the percentages lack is anything to provide a better understanding of the human element of *The Evergreen*. With little financial gain to be made from publication of their work in *The Evergreen*, the contributors perhaps sought remuneration of a different, and perhaps more significant, kind, that of the recognition of their participation in the Celtic Renaissance and in its ideals. Geddes had terrific personal charisma in his projects, a factor which must not be underestimated, and that too could have been reason enough to some to get involved.

The drawings of *The Evergreen* depicted myths and legends with a Celtic influence, rural and urban scenes. The interpretation of what was Celtic or Northern (after all, it was *A Northern Seasonal*) was left up to the artist for the most part. Many of the illustrations came straight out of the murals in Ramsay Garden. Usually they translated from mural to engraving fairly well, but in some cases they suffered in the transition through a lack of finesse in translating paintings or drawings to engravings. The fault for these mishaps lay with the engraver, either Orr Photo-engraving Company or Hare and Company.⁴⁰⁸ The drawings had in common a rural serenity and often a humour about them. *When the Girls Come Out to Play* by Charles Mackie and *Pastorale Bretonne* by Paul Sèrusier both show idyllic woodland scenes with people.⁴⁰⁹ Most often nature was used as an inspiration, such as in *The Norland Wind* by John

⁴⁰⁸ NLS MSS 10649, includes bills from Orr and Hare for volumes of *The Evergreen*. Duncan's *Anima Celtica* was one of the pieces that suffered in transition, the press were rather cruel about the drawing. *Anima Celtica* has recently been revealed as a mural in which the lines are much finer. The complaints the press expressed about the drawing, seen on p.116 of this chapter, are not evident in the mural.

⁴⁰⁹ *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895.

Duncan in the inaugural Spring (1895) issue,⁴¹⁰ *Lyart Leaves* by Mackie, *Autumn Wind* by Macgillivray, and “*Bare Ruined Choirs*” by James Cadenehad in the Autumn (1895) issue,⁴¹¹ *Antarctic Summer* by W.G. Burn-Murdoch in the Summer (1896) issue,⁴¹² and *Winter Landscape* by Cadenhead in the Winter (1896-7) issue.⁴¹³ Robert Burns’s work was inspired by the developing Art Nouveau movement, as seen in *Natura Naturans*, *The Casket*,⁴¹⁴ *Vintage*,⁴¹⁵ and *The Victor*.⁴¹⁶ John Duncan’s inspirations are harder to classify. He used Celtic, Viking, Arthurian and Egyptian myth and imagery. His *Anima Celtica* (Figure 11),⁴¹⁷ which has been called “a visual manifesto of the Celtic Revival”,⁴¹⁸ featured a dreamer and the dreams above her visible to the viewer. The dreams featured images of traditional Celtic myth, such as Ossian, members of the Fianna, and a wild boar (from the legend of Dairmaid and Grainne) all enveloped in Celtic knotwork design, with the dreamer at centre wearing a Tara brooch on her cloak (a recent archaeological find). Duncan had obviously kept abreast of the latest in archaeological finds⁴¹⁹ for this extraordinary piece of (clearly and unmistakably) Celtic imagery.⁴²⁰ Continuing the obvious Celtic influences, a good deal of the initial letters, head-, and tail-pieces of *The Evergreen* were influenced by Celtic knotwork patterns and

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

⁴¹² *The Evergreen*, Summer, 1896. Burn-Murdoch had travelled as artist in residence to Antarctica on the Dundee Antarctic Expedition 1893-4 with Captain Fairweather.

⁴¹³ *The Evergreen*, Winter, 1896-7.

⁴¹⁴ *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895.

⁴¹⁵ *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

⁴¹⁶ *The Evergreen*, Summer, 1896.

⁴¹⁷ *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895.

⁴¹⁸ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, p. 155.

⁴¹⁹ Duncan’s use of museums and archaeological finds is significant in that these rediscovered objects were being injected into this new movement of Celtic Renaissance, often in precisely accurate usages. Duncan developed his use of archaeological finds as seen in his 1911 painting *The Riders of the Sidhe*.

⁴²⁰ Duncan would have had access to printed matter such as the *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, printed for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1892), which had beautiful detailed drawings of archaeological finds in Scotland. The patterns of some of these finds are very similar to those which show up in Duncan’s decorative work.

designs like those in *The Book of Kells*. Between Duncan's obvious Celtic inspiration and those shown in the initials, head- and tail-pieces, (of which Duncan was a contributor) *The Evergreen* forged a significant link between modern and ancient Celtic cultural identity, a feeling that was only intensified by the literature of the journal.

Written contributions to *The Evergreen* were no less varied in substance or influence. Chief among the contributors was Fiona Macleod, the private pseudonym of William Sharp, though Macleod's identity was a source of speculation it was not confirmed to be Sharp until his death in 1905. Macleod was more than just pseudonym to Sharp, she was a second identity for him. In her biography of Sharp, his wife Elizabeth related his struggle with identity and that fact that he may have had a split personality. She recounted in 1905 "I remember he told me that rarely a day passed in which he did not try to imagine himself living the life of a woman".⁴²¹ At one point he began to sign letters to some close friends as "Wilfion".⁴²² Sharp biographer Flavia Alaya disputed the idea that Sharp suffered from a split personality,

Fiona Macleod was indeed the creation of a mind or heart divided, but there was no need for the theory Sharp hinted at [...] that the lifelong maintenance of this special pose was evidence of a dual or split personality; the theory indeed is usually employed without real knowledge of what it means.⁴²³

⁴²¹ E. Sharp, *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod): A memoir*, (London, 1910) pp. 52-53.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, pp. 285-6.

⁴²³ F. Alaya, *William Sharp- "Fiona Macleod": 1855-1905*, (Massachusetts, 1970) p. 137. Though they may have both been Sharp, it is integral to this thesis to refer to them separately, especially when giving

During the publication of *The Evergreen* Macleod enjoyed the height of her success with books like *The Sin-Eater* and *The Mountain Dreamers*. Macleod's works were just as large a success in *The Evergreen*. Her stories re-telling Celtic folk tales provided a mystical focus for the journal's readers. The legends were something the readers could relate too, perhaps even remember from their younger days. Whether it was nostalgia, antiquarianism, or the uncertainty they faced in the future, readers identified with tales such as *Mary of the Gael* (the legend of St. Brigid or Bride).⁴²⁴ Other writers that contributed legends or folktales, such as Standish O'Grady, Sir George Douglas (1856-1935), Edith Wingate Rinder, and Margaret Thompson (1844-1913)⁴²⁵, struck the same chord as Macleod in the retelling of Celtic legends, which because of their sometimes melancholy subject matter were characterised as Celtic gloom or Celtic twilight. Legends were not the only written works in *The Evergreen*. There was also poetry (now viewed with a bemused sort of criticism, but popular at the time), scientific articles, sociological articles, and some rural living or rural travelling narratives. Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson contributed scientific articles and collaborated on the article "The Moral Evolution of Sex",⁴²⁶ based on their work in the controversial book *The Evolution of Sex*.⁴²⁷ Topics related to rural living included travel

credit for published works. Geddes, as late as 1931 still referred to them as separate people. For more information on Sharp and Macleod see Chapter 5, pp. 157-160.

⁴²⁴ *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

⁴²⁵ Also known as Margaret Thomson Janvier.

⁴²⁶ *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

⁴²⁷ Originally published in 1889, but often republished thereafter.

to Iona, in “The Dance of Life” by Jane Hay,⁴²⁸ and the changing of the seasons in the north in “The Breath of the Snow” by John Macleay.⁴²⁹

The art and the written work united to create a balanced volume, providing fiction, general interest, poetry, science and sociology, with accompanying art that combined different cultures, myths and artistic styles. By contributing these works their creators had allied with Geddes in his Celtic Renaissance, whether they subscribed to it or not, and whether they recognised it or not. It seems most contributors were anxious to engage with the Celtic Renaissance ideas, otherwise their works would not have been chosen. The works portrayed glimpses into what life could be like through a philosophy that was based on man’s relationship to nature and the natural regeneration that could develop, even in cities. No matter what the creator intended, Geddes crafted the disparate parts into a homogenous message which was designed “to reflect the changing aspects of Nature and Human Life, as these appear to men of different cultures and specialisms- to the artist and the naturalist, to the student of history and the critic of social things.”⁴³⁰ In other words, to show what natural, artistic and cultural links were common to readers, and how embracing these commonalities could lead to cultural regeneration.

⁴²⁸ *The Evergreen*, Summer 1896.

⁴²⁹ *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

⁴³⁰ P. Geddes, *The Evergreen Almanac*, 1897.

With Geddes's position as facilitator of *The Evergreen*, he was crafting a message through the journal, one that was received, embraced, misunderstood and mistranslated by followers of Geddes, the press and members of the public. Visible through its drawings and articles, the message was one of renewal, of a connection with nature, an awareness of the past and an embrace of the future. With the highest amount of contributions, Geddes, Macleod and Duncan were the strongest influences in the messages *The Evergreen* exuded. Whereas other contributors may have an article in each issue, Geddes averaged two or three per issue, Macleod averaged three (with Sharp contributing to each issue as well, except Winter), and Duncan averaged two drawings per issue, not including his many head- and tail-pieces. Geddes's articles focused on renewal, of the relationship between urban and rural in human life, and of the sciences seen in nature. Geddes's articles naturally tied into his broader philosophy of the collaboration between science, art and nature that was at the basis of human life. Fiona Macleod's fiction, poetry and re-crafting of traditional legends lent a overt Celtic tone to *The Evergreen*, as well as a large dose of mysticism. Duncan's drawings combined traditional Celtic motifs, symbols from ancient legends throughout the world, and the right degree of mysticism or fantasy to give the drawings potency and accessibility, not so light-hearted as to imply frivolity, not so heavy as to denote an extreme symbolism awash with generally absurd ideals. All three had elements that resonated with traditionalists as well as modernists, and that combined with various submissions that showed the spectrum from light to scholarly to create a happy medium of a journal with something for most readers.

The first volume of *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895, was received fairly well. Geddes, with some assistance, had engineered to send it to most of the papers in Britain, and a few abroad in America and Europe. Once *The Evergreen* began to be known, many publications wrote to request a copy to review. Though *The Evergreen* offered something for most readers, plenty of readers did not find anything of interest to them. With a phenomenon like *The Evergreen* public reaction and opinion was just as significant as the journal itself. Dubbed the Scottish *Yellow Book*, *The Evergreen* was often pigeon-holed into various artistic and literary groups, and of course the most prominent one was that of the Decadents and the *Yellow Book*. The *Yellow Book* was edited by Aubrey Beardsley, who also created a large amount of the artwork featured in it. Beardsley was younger than Geddes, and the *Yellow Book* was a longer-lived periodical with more volumes to its name than *The Evergreen* had. But what the *Yellow Book* represented, the movement (or lifestyle) of Decadence, was as far removed from Geddes's reawakening and renewal, the Celtic Renaissance, as was *The Evergreen* from the success of the *Yellow Book*.⁴³¹

Among others *The Globe* (London) found resemblance to the *Yellow Book* in *The Evergreen*'s artwork.⁴³² *London* called it "The Evergreen: The Green Book of the Edinburgh University Settlement" to express differences in the two, saying that *The Evergreen* was "unequalled as an artistic production, and while the organ of a band of social reformers who have gathered round Professor Geddes at the University Settlement

⁴³¹ See Chapter 1, pp 22-23. This natural cycle from decadence to rebirth is something that Geddes wrote about in his article "Life and its Sciences" in the first issue of *The Evergreen* (Spring) 1895.

⁴³² SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Globe* (London), 22 May 1895, *Black and White*, (London) 25 May 1895.

in one of the poorest quarters of Edinburgh, it also touches an international note, and holds up the spirit of the best ideals in literature and art.”⁴³³ *The Glasgow Herald* was pleased enough that “Glasgow, it seems, is sharing in the Northern Renaissance” and thought it associated *The Evergreen*, and Duncan in particular, with Decadence as shown in the *Yellow Book*. The article said that some of the drawings of *The Evergreen* “curiously enough, look as if they had been meant for the *Yellow Book* rather than for the *Evergreen*” and continued on to ally Duncan’s work with Decadence when it said “there is no mistaking the school to which Mr Duncan belongs”.⁴³⁴ Though for all that, the *Glasgow Herald* did recognise Geddes’s message that only after Decadence would there be rebirth.⁴³⁵ *The Scotsman* also likened it to the *Yellow Book* and found “[t]he best thing about the book is the bloom of youth which lies lightly over all its papers and pictures.”⁴³⁶ In a double review of the *Yellow Book* number five and *The Evergreen* Spring volume *The Bookman* wrote:

The ‘Evergreen,’ on the other hand, takes glimpses into to-morrow, and by to-morrow it thinks decadence, whatever that may be, will have died, if indeed it ever breathed a living breath north of the Tweed. The English [*The Yellow Book*] quarterly aims only at being artistic and literary; its Scottish cousin, on the other hand, has, besides, high civic and social aspirations; it is a great deal more serious, and- not a little dull.⁴³⁷

Clearly some of the critics embraced its non-Decadent qualities and some did not.

⁴³³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *London*, 23 May 1895.

⁴³⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 May 1895.

⁴³⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 May 1895.

⁴³⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Scotsman*, 29 May 1895.

⁴³⁷ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Bookman* (London), June 1895.

Bad reviews were one thing, however, reviews that misunderstood *The Evergreen* were another. “A goodly portion of its contents is unintelligible” concluded *The Realm* (London), criticising the journal. The factor which was most unintelligible to the reporter was “why the most harmonious lives should be those whose times of effort and of rest are in tune with the seasonal rhythm of the earth.”⁴³⁸ The logic of Geddes’s message of natural awareness and his combination of urban and rural did not make sense to *The Realm*. *Literary World* completely missed the point of the title *A Northern Seasonal* and how each issue was structured accordingly, when it wrote that there were “too many references to the spring”⁴³⁹ in *The Evergreen*. London was not the only place where *The Evergreen* was misunderstood, *The Cork Examiner* wrote “we don’t pretend to understand all the articles and poems.”⁴⁴⁰

To some the artwork of *The Evergreen* proved to be as large an obstacle as its written word. One of the complaints most often voiced was that the art in *The Evergreen* was too much like that in the *Yellow Book*. The most contrasting (and contentious) opinions on any aspect of *The Evergreen* were on its art. *The Bookseller* considered Burns and Duncan to be “a curious combination of Mr Aubrey Beardsley and Mr Walter Crane, with a certain strange individuality all their own”⁴⁴¹ which created interesting and original art. *The Globe* found the art was either Beardsley-inspired or

⁴³⁸ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Realm* (London), 24 May 1895.

⁴³⁹ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *Literary World* (London), 4 June 1895.

⁴⁴⁰ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Cork Examiner*, 19 June 1895.

⁴⁴¹ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Bookseller* (London), June 1895. *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 May 1895, also found the art to be Beardsleyesque but not objectionable.

“the most primitive specimens of wood-engraving”,⁴⁴² while *London* wrote that “illustrations are superb”.⁴⁴³

When not being compared with the art of the *Yellow Book*, the art of *The Evergreen* found some praise, such as in *The Morning Post* (London), which wrote that Duncan’s *Out-faring* was created with “a considerable feeling for beautiful lines, the winged voyager in the last being very prettily drawn.”⁴⁴⁴ (See Figure 13) *The Scotsman* called Burns’s *Natura Naturans* the “most striking of the pictures”, and *The Aberdeen Free Press* described the art as “a wild array of erratic initials, head-pieces, tail-pieces, and weird pictures in black and white, including imitation chalk, by such masters of the craft as Pittendrigh Macgillivray, James Cadenhead, Burn-Murdoch, Helen Hay, John Duncan and Paul Serusier.”⁴⁴⁵ *New Budget* (London) considered the best artwork of the Spring volume to be Burns’s *Natura Naturans* (See Figure 14), as well as *Pipes of Arcady* (See Figure 15), and *Apollo’s School Days*, both by Duncan.⁴⁴⁶

The issue of the art in *The Evergreen* seems to have been one of personal taste since many papers could write the exact opposite opinions, even papers from the same geographical area. On one issue most of the papers concurred, they did not like Duncan’s *Anima Celtica*. *Literary World* (London) wrote “We have Mr Duncan sinning

⁴⁴² SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Globe* (London) 22 May 1895.

⁴⁴³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *London*, 23 May 1895.

⁴⁴⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Morning Post* (London), 29 May 1895.

⁴⁴⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8. Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Aberdeen Free Press*, 27 May 1895.

⁴⁴⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings book, *New Budget* (London), 30 May 1895.

again”, in *Anima Celtica*, “[t]he size of the Adam’s apple in the lady’s throat is more than astonishing.”⁴⁴⁷ *The Irish Independent* wrote that “one must object to the ‘Anima Celtica,’ whose throat look[s] as if she suffered from a particularly horrible goitre.”⁴⁴⁸

In December 1895, the sociologist Victor V. Branford, contributor to *The Evergreen* and friend of Geddes’s, wrote an article for *The Bookman* to explain the concept of *The Evergreen*, and more importantly, the art of *The Evergreen*, to those who had maligned or misunderstood it. He called the journal “[a] fine art production from what was one of the filthiest and most degraded slums of Europe!”⁴⁴⁹ Branford went on to explain what was behind *The Evergreen*,

[t]ruth to tell, the new Scottish quarterly is not primarily an organ of art and literature at all. It is primarily the beginning of an effort to give periodic expression in print to a movement that is mainly architectural, educational, scientific. Thus it is a bye-product of social life rather than a literary and artistic main-product.⁴⁵⁰

By this he may have meant that the production of a journal was not the object of the Celtic Renaissance, rather the activities of the Celtic Renaissance had led to the journal to chronicle its art and literature. In defence of the artwork, Branford further explained that:

⁴⁴⁷ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *Literary World* (London), 4 June 1895.

⁴⁴⁸ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Irish Independent* (Dublin), 3 June 1895. As previously stated on p. 108, the *Anima Celtica* shown in *The Evergreen* had suffered in its transition from mural to engraving. Had the transfer been more expert perhaps they would have seen the beauty of the original.

⁴⁴⁹ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Bookman*, December 1895.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

[i]ts decorations are the visible link that connect the Evergreen with the builder's craft. These decorations have found no favour in the eyes of the literary critics. As a fact, there is little or nothing of the literary style of picture about them. They are to a considerable extent simple transcriptions into black and white of detached parts from the series of mural decorations which the artists, temporarily turned craftsmen, have painted on various walls of University Hall.⁴⁵¹

This rejoinder to their complaints did not quiet critics, but it does provide a guide for the reader today. By looking at the art of *The Evergreen* as a transcription of the murals of Ramsay Garden it takes on a greater meaning. If, as Branford advised (as did Willsdon),⁴⁵² they are more than just unconnected drawings and are instead part of the great mural scheme, this connects them to each other in Geddes's vision for Ramsay Garden, as well as for *The Evergreen*. This lends the drawings much more weight, because it means they are not just pretty pictures, but an expression of the ideas and ideals of the Celtic Renaissance.

Showing something of the cultural bias of its time, the *Daily Telegraph* (London), wrote "[a]s it is produced by a Scotchmen, we cannot possibly assume the volume is a huge joke, although anyone who glances through it will find some difficulty in guessing what else it is."⁴⁵³ Unlike the *Telegraph*, *The Irish Independent* (Dublin) found some happiness in the fact that the "[t]he new 'seasonal' is manned by Scotchmen, which fact is a happy augury for success, for the 'kindly Scots' have a way

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Willsdon, "Paul Serusier and the Celt", *Burlington Magazine*, 1984, vol. 126.

⁴⁵³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 4 June 1895.

of holding together, and upholding each other- very admirable, though now and then it leads to kaleyard [sic]comers.”⁴⁵⁴ It was the anti-kailyard properties that pleased *The Independent*, as well as the fact that it found “[a] wholesome thing in ‘The Evergreen’ is its hatred of decadence”.⁴⁵⁵

Although many critics were happy enough with their characterisation of *The Evergreen* as “The Scottish ‘Yellow Book’”,⁴⁵⁶ some were unhappy with its Scottishness or, conversely, its internationalism. *London* found the Spring issue “was too intensely Scotch”, though it praised the Autumn issue for its “suggestion of internationalism”.⁴⁵⁷ *The Times* characterised the journal’s work as “Scoto-Beardsleyan”,⁴⁵⁸ by which they possibly meant Scottish Decadence or Aestheticism. *The New York Critic* found the internationalism of the journal inspiring, “Mr. Patrick Geddes & Colleagues work manfully to advertise the larger Edinburgh, the European, not narrowly Scottish, town, interested in the Celtic Renaissance, the progress of French art and Belgian literature- one of the capitals of culture.”⁴⁵⁹ *The Daily Chronicle* (London) was trouble with what it saw as an egotistical assertion: “Edinburgh”, wrote the *Daily Chronicle*, “was once one of the ‘European Powers of Culture,’ but it achieved that distinction, not by claiming it, nor even aiming at it consciously, but by ‘cultivating

⁴⁵⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Irish Independent* (Dublin), 3 June 1895.

⁴⁵⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Irish Independent*, 3 June 1895.

⁴⁵⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 29 May 1895.

⁴⁵⁷ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *London*, 14 November 1895.

⁴⁵⁸ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Times* (London), 24 May 1895.

⁴⁵⁹ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The New York Critic* (New York), 4 January 1896.

literature on a little oatmeal.’’⁴⁶⁰ This opinion seems to target *The Evergreen* and Edinburgh because they are part of Scotland, not because of any substantive evidence.

The Evergreen was, from the start, only intended to last for four seasons, and for only four issues. Geddes wrote to the publisher T. Fisher Unwin, “I think *the Evergreen* should be treated rather as a book issued in four parts, than as a magazine.”⁴⁶¹ *The Sketch* (London) called this a “heroic resolve” and wrote that its short life meant that “[a]s the *Evergreen* never meant to make a popular appeal, there is no unkindness in speaking candidly of it.”⁴⁶² To some critics the enthusiasm and positive outlook that went into *The Evergreen* was rewarded by the reader’s own. *The Sunday Times* called it “the first serious attempt we have seen on the part of genius and enthusiasm hand-in-hand to combat avowedly and persistently the decadent spirit which we have felt to be over-aggressive of late.”⁴⁶³ Some critics rejoiced in its antiquity and quaintness,⁴⁶⁴ citing its lack of modernity and its value as a charming curiosity. Contrastingly, some admired its modernity and freshness.⁴⁶⁵ Was there something for everyone, or was there nothing for anyone? The critics could not agree on what merits *The Evergreen* had or who its likely readers would be. The only aspect in which one student critic was sure of was that at five shillings⁴⁶⁶ it was not priced for the student market, and they would have bought it. *The Student* called it “a triumph of the art of artistic and luxurious

⁴⁶⁰ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Daily Chronicle* (London), 30 November 1895.

⁴⁶¹ NLS Mss 10588/5, Letter from Patrick Geddes to Fisher Unwin, dated 15 March 1895.

⁴⁶² SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Sketch* (London), 12 June 1895.

⁴⁶³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Sunday Times* (London), 6 June 1895.

⁴⁶⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *Westminster Gazette* (London), 2 July 1895 and *North British Daily Mail* (Glasgow), 24 June 1895.

⁴⁶⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Artist*, July 1895.

⁴⁶⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/6, An order form for *The Evergreen* shows individual issues priced at 5s a piece, or all four volumes for a pound.

bookmaking” and lamented the fact that “one could wish that its price were not such as to somewhat restrict its circulation”.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps here Geddes missed a niche, although he had thought about the price previous to publication and decided that to turn any profit at all it must be of an higher than average price. He wrote to T. Fisher Unwin, previous to *The Evergreen*’s publication, “we find that selling 2000 at 3/6 would simply pay for the cost of production and distribution leaving nothing for the artist and contributors, and probably also I fear a deficit for me from the small unforeseen outlays.”⁴⁶⁸

In February 1896 Israel Zangwill (1864-1926) wrote an article called “Without Prejudice” for the *Pall Mall Magazine* (London).⁴⁶⁹ He recounted that until he,

went to Edinburgh I had no idea what the ‘Evergreen’ was. Newspaper criticisms had given me a vague misrepresentations of a Scottish ‘Yellow Book’ calling itself a ‘Northern Seasonal.’ But even had I seen a copy myself I doubt if I should have understood it without going to Edinburgh; and even had I gone to Edinburgh I should still have been in twilight had I not met Patrick Geddes, Professor of Botany at the University of Dundee. For Patrick Geddes is the key to the Northern position in life and letters The ‘Evergreen’ was not established as an antidote to the ‘Yellow Book,’ though it might well seem a colour counter-symbol.⁴⁷⁰

Once Zangwill had met Geddes and been to Ramsay Garden he was of the opinion that *The Evergreen*, Geddes and Ramsay Garden had more to recommend them than was

⁴⁶⁷ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings Book, *The Student*, 14 November 1895.

⁴⁶⁸ NLS MSS 10588, Geddes to T. Fisher Unwin, 28 March 1895. Even at this price Geddes did lost a good deal of money on *The Evergreen*, see this chapter, pp. 102, 106.

⁴⁶⁹ Though Zangwill was British, he is best known for his play *The Melting Pot* (c.1908), which coined the phrase for America as the melting pot of immigration.

⁴⁷⁰ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings Book, *The Pall Mall Magazine* (London), February 1896.

seen in the press. He found the ideas “commendable” and thought that “a school of thought which is also a school of action has in itself the germs of perpetual self-recuperation”,⁴⁷¹ one of the ideas that Geddes had tried to impart through his biological essays in *The Evergreen*. On the whole he found his visit to Edinburgh had, if not converted him to Geddesian ideas, then definitely opened his mind to them. He continued,

let us welcome the ‘Evergreen’ and the planters thereof, stunted and mean though its growth be yet;⁴⁷² for not only in Scotland may they bring refreshment, but in that larger world where analysis and criticism have ended in degeneration and despair. Mayhap Salvation is of the Celt.⁴⁷³

The Evergreen faced problems breaking into a market saturated with periodicals and journals. It is difficult to determine its popularity through sales as there are no sales records available, but judging by the reviews it faced obstacles in most of its intended markets. However, it did find a home in the North. *The Evergreen*’s reviews in Scotland were mixed, though it had a good deal of open-minded goodwill from critics at the beginning. It was the North of England where *The Evergreen* was most welcomed. *The Sheffield Independent* was impressed with its Celtic influences,⁴⁷⁴ *The Nottingham Guardian* admired its originality, and wrote that *The Evergreen* “is proof of the vitality

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Meaning that since it has been much maligned in the press of the day, *The Evergreen* has not enjoyed the success, which in Zangwill’s eyes, it deserved.

⁴⁷³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings Book, *The Pall Mall Magazine* (London), February 1896. Zangwill later provided the Introduction to Amelia Defries’s biography of Geddes called *The Interpreter: Geddes: The Man and His Gospel*.

⁴⁷⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Sheffield Independent*, 19 June 1896.

of the Celtic school”.⁴⁷⁵ *The Yorkshire Herald* wrote “Philistines and foolish people” would not like it, and would not take a chance on it, however if they did “they would discover that how much there is that is worth reading and possessing in this quaint and picturesque book”.⁴⁷⁶ The appeal to the North of England seems to be the combination of myths and legends, artwork and articles of interest. By finding its audience in Northern England *The Evergreen* was proved to be *A Northern Seasonal* of high standing as it won over an audience with which it had little appeal on the surface. Whether or not they were Celts the readers in the North found a connection to *The Evergreen*.

The Evergreen did not win the heart of the whole of Britain, nor did it flower past its self-imposed four season/four issue limit. It found limited success in London, where it suffered the backlash of the *Yellow Book*, and in Ireland, where its message was not understood to its full effect. Its reception in Scotland was also mixed, it started off well received by most Scottish publications, but ended up with either a lukewarm or a devoted following in the newspapers. Finding its audience in the North of England was a fortuitous event, however it was one that was not duplicated elsewhere.

The messages of *The Evergreen* still resonate with the readers of today. Although Geddes biographer Helen Meller classified the works of Fiona Macleod as “belong[ing] to a genre which is almost inaccessible to the modern reader”,⁴⁷⁷ some of

⁴⁷⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Nottingham Guardian*, 30 June 1896.

⁴⁷⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/8 Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Yorkshire Herald*, 30 June 1896.

⁴⁷⁷ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 99.

the literature and art are still relevant to the modern reader. The themes of human interaction with nature, rebirth, the past and history as significant and present in life today, escape to nature and escape from self, and the ever-constant theme of love, were all found in *The Evergreen* and still resonate. Even the works of Fiona Macleod can be entertaining and interesting, especially when used in the timeline of the evolution of legends and folktales. Perhaps one of the intentions of *The Evergreen* was to preserve the life the contributors led in the 1890s, and as Jane Hay wrote in “The Dance of Life”, almost as if to the readers of the future, “then let us sing clearly as we go, and generations yet unborn shall hear the echoes of our song”.⁴⁷⁸

Within the Celtic Renaissance

The Celtic Renaissance was almost entirely based around *The Evergreen*, Ramsay Garden, and the functions that Ramsay Garden served. The mainstays of the Celtic Renaissance were Geddes, Sharp/Macleod and Duncan. On the periphery were the contributors of *The Evergreen*, the artists in the Old Edinburgh School of Art, the artists who painted murals for Ramsay Garden, and those in the Patrick Geddes and Colleagues publishing company.

Though it was never a formalised movement, unless through the existence of *The Evergreen* itself there is formalisation and structure, the press at the time considered it to be one. In contemporary press the movement surrounding *The Evergreen* was called

⁴⁷⁸ Jane Hay, “The Dance of Life”, *The Evergreen*, Summer, 1896.

“the Celtic Renaissance”,⁴⁷⁹ the “Celtic Renaissance”,⁴⁸⁰ “The Scots Renaissance”,⁴⁸¹ “the northern Renaissance”,⁴⁸² “the Northern Renaissance”,⁴⁸³ “the youngest ‘Young Scotland’”,⁴⁸⁴ “The Celtic revival”,⁴⁸⁵ “the Celtic Revival in the North”,⁴⁸⁶ “the Celtic School”,⁴⁸⁷ and “this Gaelic Revival business”.⁴⁸⁸ Often these titles were titles given to the Irish Celtic Revival and imposed upon the Celtic Renaissance with little or no thought as to if they were accurate.

The Celtic Renaissance developed at the most opportune time possible for such a movement. The ground for cultural nationalist movements was fertile and the Celtic Renaissance took full advantage of the hospitable environment, as did the numerous European movements. The Celtic Renaissance worked through the social and educational institutions Geddes had set up, the Edinburgh Social Union, Ramsay Garden, University Hall, the Old Edinburgh School of Art, *The Evergreen* and the Patrick Geddes and Colleagues publishing company. Within these boundaries the Celtic Renaissance flourished, and spilled over. It had contact with most of the other movements and groups in Britain in the 1890s, and most especially Scotland and

⁴⁷⁹ A. Lang, “The Celtic Renaissance”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1897, vol. 161, p. 181 and SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1895, *Edinburgh Evening News* 21 November 1895, I. Zangwill, “Without Prejudice”, *Pall Mall Magazine* (London), February 1896.

⁴⁸⁰ N. Munro, *The Brave Days*, (Edinburgh, 1931) p. 293, and SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The New York Critic* (New York), 4 January 1896, *Magazine of Art*, February, 1896.

⁴⁸¹ Geddes, “The Scots Renaissance”, *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895.

⁴⁸² SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *London*, 3 May 1895

⁴⁸³ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 May 1895.

⁴⁸⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Star* (London), 30 May 1895.

⁴⁸⁵ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Bookman*, June 1895.

⁴⁸⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, letter from T.W. Rolleston, dated 14 November 1895.

⁴⁸⁷ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Sketch* (London), 14 June 1896, and *The Nottingham Guardian*, 30 June 1896.

⁴⁸⁸ SUA T-GED 8/1/8, Evergreen Cuttings book, *The Saturday Review*, 11 July 1896.

Ireland, there were contacts with France, as well as interactions with other Europeans, and Americans.

The members of the Celtic Renaissance from Geddes's organisations in Edinburgh were artists and writers, although at a stretch it would be possible to include others with which the Celtic Renaissance had contact. These artists and writers left behind a variety of works that can be traced back to the Celtic Renaissance. The projects of the Edinburgh Social Union under Geddes's management, the Ramsay Garden murals, *The Evergreen*, and Geddes and Colleagues all left behind works that speak to the connections between the participants in the Celtic Renaissance.

Of those involved with the Celtic Renaissance (besides Geddes), Duncan's and Macleod's works remain the most potent and retain the most obvious ties. After the Celtic Renaissance ceased to flower as a group, Duncan's and Macleod's works remained its strongest ambassadors for all the things for which it had stood. Duncan's works remain especially powerful as they did not date in the same way that Macleod's did. The colours of Duncan's works remain undimmed, but the words that Macleod worked so feverishly to publish find their readers now unreachable, their power lost in the post-First World War world. Others who can be associated with the Celtic Renaissance are by no means exclusive to it. Mackie, Burn-Murdoch, Burns and Macgillivray all worked before and after the Celtic Renaissance. The work they accomplished included murals, paintings, sculptures, and drawings. But none of their

works concentrated on Celtic subject matter to the same degree as Duncan's did.

Duncan truly did create the face of the Celtic Renaissance, and none of the other artists come close to rivalling his achievements in this area.

Among the Celtic subjects that Duncan used in his work were; Arthur and Excalibur, Angus Og, the Sidhe, Tristan and Isolde, St Bride, the Children of Lir, St Columba, Aiofe, Merlin, Deidre, Ossian, Fionn, and Cuchulainn. Duncan was devoted to Celtic subject matter. He combined his studies from Düsseldorf and Antwerp with Celtic legend and the results were successful, and though he went through a difficult period with regards to his work from 1899 to 1904, he continued with the Celtic subject matter for the rest of his life.

Macleod and Geddes both wrote for *The Evergreen*, but it was Macleod far more than Geddes who shape the public voice of the Celtic Renaissance, despite the positive overall reaction to Geddes's "Scots Renaissance." The legends, the fiction, and the ideas on what was Celtic, all came from Macleod. Often Macleod's tales were new takes on traditional Celtic legends, and a good number of these were Irish legends that Macleod re-styled to give them a Highland slant. Macleod used mythical characters like Deidre, Dalua, the Dàn-nan-Ròn, and St Bride. Often Macleod simply drew on Celtic legends for inspiration, or on what was considered Celtic in nature, geography or culture. Many stories feature fishermen, shepherds and Gaelic speakers, figures from Macleod's fictional biographical details.

Expression of Celticism, Celtic ideas and identity were found in the work of both Duncan and Macleod. Was one of the goals of the Celtic Renaissance to further Celtic identity and Celtic ideals? Geddes was in favour of the study of history, languages, culture and folklore, and he was of the opinion that in Ireland, “the most active life[,] the most active learning” was “among the scholars and poets who have returned to the study of their own language, their own traditions”.⁴⁸⁹ Geddes thought that “it is not for London to educate Iona, but for Iona to educate London”,⁴⁹⁰ possibly meaning that the wild places of Britain do not need to be changed, educated or civilised as was previously thought, but instead that the wild places or primitive places could educate the cities and organisations of Britain in their ways. Another of Geddes’s ideas behind the benefit the knowledge of Celtic heritage can bring is that “tradition is truer than history”.⁴⁹¹ In this aspect both Macleod and Duncan followed Geddes’s ideals, using Celtic traditions, rather than Celtic history or archaeology, as the backbone of their work.

Traditional ideas informed the work of both Duncan and Macleod, as they did throughout the pieces of *The Evergreen*. Were the ideas of *The Evergreen* compatible to the goals of Duncan and Macleod? Duncan was inspired by his time at the Old Edinburgh School of Art. Sometime after the School closed Duncan came up with ideas for starting his own school. He wanted it to be based in a remote location, possibly

⁴⁸⁹ SUA T-GED 5/2/7, a paper by Geddes on “Keltic Art” dated 26 July 1899.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ SUA T-GED 5/2/8, a paper by Geddes on “The Celtic Races” dated 24 January 1896. This idea is echoed in the work of Anthony Smith, see Chapter 1, pp. 9-10.

Eriskay, and run on traditional principles, heavily influenced by medieval study. He saw this school as a chance “[t]o recover the ideals enshrined in Gaelic Mythology, Heroic Tales, ballads, Folk Tales, Proverbs, Folk lore”, “[t]o set these forth anew in picture song and story in Embroidery, Tapestry, and wood carving, ivory and bone carving”, and to encourage home industry and through it to improve life.⁴⁹² Duncan shows that he has more than absorbed Geddes’s teaching, that he has become a “disciple”⁴⁹³ of it and ready to bring the Professor’s words to the world.⁴⁹⁴

Sharp had wanted Macleod to become a recognised author that spoke for the Celt, a feat which was accomplished.⁴⁹⁵ The end of *The Evergreen*, was not the end of the Macleod persona or author. She lived on in Sharp until his death in 1905, and continued to publish works until 1904. Sharp only wanted to get Macleod renown for her fiction and to show a Scottish view of Celtic literature. This was accomplished well before his death. In later years Sharp travelled on and continued to write, but had no other goals outside of Macleod’s voice being heard. This differed distinctly from the goal of *The Evergreen*, which was not only to be heard, but to be listened to as well.

As for Geddes’s goals, he wanted to change the way people thought and lived, often through example as in his early days in James Court, through community, as in Ramsay Garden, through education and educational activities in the University Hall and

⁴⁹² NLS ACC 6866, John Duncan’s notebooks

⁴⁹³ NLS MSS 10531, postcard from Duncan to Geddes, c.1900.

⁴⁹⁴ Additional discussion of this topic in Chapter 6.

⁴⁹⁵ Additional discussion of this topic in Chapter 5.

the Summer Meetings, and through art both in the home and outside of it in the murals in Ramsay Garden, the architecture of the building itself, the murals schemes created by the Edinburgh Social Union, and the Old Edinburgh School of Art, through its classes, exhibitions, and shop.⁴⁹⁶ *The Evergreen* was just one further aspect through which Geddes could accomplish this change. When *The Evergreen* folded in winter 1897 he was already prepared with his next plans for the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900 and the later Town and Cities Planning Exhibition. The Celtic Renaissance was just one path to his greater goals of education and regeneration.

A large part of Geddes's Celtic Renaissance was its interaction with other Scottish art and cultural groups in the period 1892-1897. By including E.A. Hornel, Pittendrigh Macgillivray, and S.R. Crockett, *The Evergreen* was bridging gaps between Geddes's Celtic Renaissance and the other Scottish movements. Geddes and other participants in the Celtic Renaissance were in contact with a large number of participants in other groups, especially with Hornel and Macgillivray in their midst. Though those two were the only ones from the Glasgow Boys in *The Evergreen*, the Celtic Renaissance had relationships with many other groups at the time as well. Geddes became friendly with Francis Newbery, principal of the Glasgow School of Art, they even shared costumes for some of the pageants they all organised a few years later.⁴⁹⁷ John Duncan

⁴⁹⁶ There is evidence that there was an Old Edinburgh School of Art shop in SUA T-GED 8/1/1 *The Evergreen* Cuttings Book, *The Queen* (London) 14 March 1896, and in SUA T-GED 9/163, a letter to John Ross (one of Geddes's secretaries) possibly from Sharp which refers to books to be stocked at the "Art Shop".

⁴⁹⁷ H. Ferguson, *Glasgow School of Art: The History* (Glasgow, 1995) p. 49, and J. Kinchin, "Art and History into Life: Pageantry Revived in Scotland", *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, vol. 3, 1997.

and Charles Mackie both lived for a time in Kirkcudbright, a town often home to members of the Glasgow Boys and to Jessie King.⁴⁹⁸ Many of these contacts develop further in the years after the last issue of *The Evergreen*, and after that time new contacts were made within the Scottish art and cultural movements. Duncan became friendly with Mackintosh and Neil Munro, and he also was inducted into the Arts and Crafts Society in Glasgow.⁴⁹⁹ Geddes and Mackintosh worked together at the Summer Meeting in London in 1915 where plans were laid as to how Europe could be rebuilt after the First World War.⁵⁰⁰ Thus the demise of *The Evergreen* did not end the activities of Celtic Renaissance, nor did it end this extraordinary cross-pollination between Celtic Renaissance participants and other Scottish artists. In fact, even in the absence of Geddes some of the participants of the Celtic Renaissance continued on in the same vein into the 1910s and 1920s.⁵⁰¹

The Celtic Renaissance has been historically included as a tangent of other art and cultural movements rather than a movement of its own.⁵⁰² What could be construed as a misreading of Celtic Renaissance has developed over time, most particularly because the activities of Geddes have been split up into categories such as town planning, science, and art and culture, rather than being viewed as one whole Geddesian

⁴⁹⁸SUA T-GED 9/78, letter from Geddes to Mackie, 26 October 1893, 9/138, letter from Duncan to Geddes, 23 July 1895, and P. Bourne (ed.), *Kirkcudbright: 100 years of an Artists' Colony* (Edinburgh, 2000).

⁴⁹⁹NLS DEP 349, no. 42, letter from Munro to Macgillivray mentions Duncan, and the possibility of using his work for Munro's books, 3 February 1896, NLS MSS 10530, letter from Duncan to Geddes about Arts and Crafts Society in Glasgow, 5 May 1898, and SUA T-GED 9/2320 from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Anna Geddes, reference to a visit to Duncan, no date (c. 1912-1914). Also see Chapter 2, p. 48.

⁵⁰⁰SUA T-GED 3/12/18, Syllabus and Time-Table of Summer Meeting, London 1915.

⁵⁰¹Namely John Duncan and Robert Burns.

⁵⁰²As mentioned in the Introduction.

system of thought and action. It is the generalism that Geddes espoused that would demand a holistic view rather than a specialised (or compartmentalised) one.

The Celtic Renaissance was developed through a combination of his projects in the Edinburgh Social Union, Ramsay Garden, University Hall, the Old Edinburgh School of Art, *The Evergreen*, and Geddes and Colleagues. The combination of these projects brought together the people involved and the Celtic Renaissance sprang up from the circumstances. Generally, historians have misread the Celtic Renaissance by dissociating certain areas from the whole, by limiting boundaries narrowly and concentrating on a single area of expertise. While it is logical for historians to concentrate on areas of their own research specialties, over time the gulf dividing Geddes's projects has become more and more evolved with each historian's individual view.

Although art historians have often understandably allocated it to the Arts and Crafts movement,⁵⁰³ the Celtic Renaissance was a separate entity and parcelling it off as a small part of a larger movement can cause later readings of the movement to be divided and marginalised. Perhaps it is associated with Arts and Crafts due to its use of the applied arts, Geddes's sympathy with Arts and Crafts ideals (not least of all his attendance and speech at the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its

⁵⁰³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century 1890-2001* (Edinburgh, 2001), pp. 13, 20, Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, (London, 1991), E. Cumming and N. Bowe, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Dublin and Edinburgh 1885-1925* (Dublin, 1998), Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, pp. 151-152.

Application to Industry in 1889)⁵⁰⁴ and the formation of the Old Edinburgh School of Art. Marrying the Celtic Renaissance to the Arts and Crafts movement may not take into account the other facets of the movement, such as its cultural or literary activities.

Geddes's biographers, for the most part, also set boundaries around their areas of research. While this is a necessary tool in research and publishing it makes it difficult to gain a complete view of Geddes's activities, particularly those with the participants in his Celtic Renaissance. In *Biopolis* Volker Welter divorced Geddes to some extent from his art and cultural activities, instead concentrating on the scientific aspects of his botany, biology and town planning work.⁵⁰⁵ Helen Meller covered a great deal about Geddes's projects and did include a short look at the Celtic Renaissance, but still divided it from his other work in Edinburgh.⁵⁰⁶ Philip Mariet and Philip Boardman covered a variety of topics in Geddes's work, and also mention the Celtic Renaissance, but only as minor aberration from his other projects.⁵⁰⁷ Paddy Kitchen delivered a well-rounded view, showing how many of Geddes's projects relate to one another.⁵⁰⁸ Through looking at Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance as part of his Edinburgh projects and activities instead of dividing it up, this chapter has taken a more holistic view in a way that hopefully adds increased understanding to it.

⁵⁰⁴ See Chapter 2, pp.51-52, 54-55.

⁵⁰⁵ Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (London, 2002).

⁵⁰⁶ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*.

⁵⁰⁷ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes* and Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology: the life & letters of Patrick Geddes*.

⁵⁰⁸ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*.

The Celtic Renaissance in its heyday of 1892-1900 encompassed art, both fine and applied (handicraft), architecture, literature, speeches and discussions, classes to teach others and to learn from them, as well as an organised effort to resettle and renovate Old Town Edinburgh through a number of methods. The Celtic Renaissance, centred on Ramsay Garden, has been shown to have been a viable, independent group who were brought together through many projects and endeavours. They had ties to other groups in Scotland and each participant brought a unique flavour to the group and to *The Evergreen*. Though there was a certain unstructured fluidity to the group, they made an impression throughout Britain, and parts of Europe, in *The Evergreen*. Some members later went on to use the time spent in the Celtic Renaissance to inspire their works and inform their choices. When Geddes moved on from the Celtic Renaissance to other projects throughout the world, Ramsay Garden with its murals remained to testify to his enthusiastic involvement in Celtic projects, as did the artists and writers who had been involved in the creation of Geddes's Celtic Renaissance manifesto, *The Evergreen*.

After The Evergreen: John Duncan and Patrick Geddes

After the last issue of *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* was published in 1897, the Celtic Renaissance progressed into its own winter. It's difficult to judge when the Celtic Renaissance ended. It could be judged to have ended at several points: with the last issue of *The Evergreen*, with the closing of the Old Edinburgh School of Art in 1900, with the last Summer Meeting, or with Geddes's leave taking of Edinburgh (which could be placed anywhere from 1900 to 1920). There is also the possibility that

the Celtic Renaissance did not end, that underwent a series of evolutionary changes in which it grew into the Pan-Celtic movement, the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s or even that it still exists today in one form or another.

After the last issue of *The Evergreen* (1897) many of the contributors went on to other projects, some of which remained heavily influenced by the Celtic Renaissance and Geddes. The purpose of this chapter is to report what happened after that final issue and to examine if Geddes remained an important influence.

After 1897 John Duncan frantically sought work, particularly teaching jobs. Duncan began by teaching in Dundee, c.1898.⁵⁰⁹ In 1899 he sought a teaching job with Rowand Anderson at the School of Applied Arts (established in 1892, it was amalgamated into the Edinburgh College of Art in 1903), and asked Geddes to “please write Dr Anderson in my favour”,⁵¹⁰ but suspected Robert Burns of blacklisting him.⁵¹¹ Duncan had found Dundee to be not nearly as receptive to his work as Edinburgh. He wrote “I was praying to be delivered out of body of this death, to be plucked from the miry clay of Dundee, and to have my feet again stabilised on The Rock of Edinburgh”.⁵¹² Duncan also continued to pursue decorative art, including mural

⁵⁰⁹ NLS MSS 10531, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, dated 12 September 1898.

⁵¹⁰ NLS MSS 10531, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, dated 5 August 1899.

⁵¹¹ SUA, T-GED 9.2030, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, no date (c.1899).

⁵¹² NLS MSS 10531, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, dated 5 August 1899. NLS MSS 10531, letter dated 12 September 1898 to Geddes from Duncan says he is conducting a class “on Celtic Ornament this winter” in Dundee.

painting of a chateau in France. He reported it to Geddes as “a great experience. I wish you could have seen the work[,] it would have pleased you.”⁵¹³

One of the final projects which Geddes and Duncan worked together on was the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900. Previous International Exhibition (sometimes also called the Great Exhibition, Great Exposition, or the World’s Fair, particularly in the US) had been held from 1851. In 1851 the first was at the Crystal Palace in London, and was the creation of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Recent Exhibitions were held in Glasgow in 1888, in Paris in 1889, and in Chicago in 1893.

The Paris International Exhibition of 1900 was Geddes’s chance for a large international platform for his ideas. He had been in the planning stages for his participation in the Exhibition from c.1897, searching out sponsors for various projects, even arranging a lecture tour in the US in 1898-9.⁵¹⁴ The key projects he sought sponsorship and funding for were his own idea of maintaining the international exhibit halls as a permanent reminder of internationalism and the creation of Elisée Reclus’s large world globe. Each country designed its own exhibit halls, including its outward appearance, in this way each country had an opportunity to express its culture and sophistication through the outward architecture of its hall, as well as the exhibits inside.

⁵¹³ Ibid., the chateau belonged to a Pierre Arminjon (in the Savoy region of France), Duncan refers to using stencils as part of his mural technique.

⁵¹⁴ H. Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Environmentalist and City Planner*, (London, 1993) p. 113. Geddes had been touring both to look for financial backing for his Exhibition projects and to raise awareness of his work and his plans for the Paris Exhibition in 1900-1.

Geddes's search for funding for Reclus's globe and the permanent retention of the international halls failed. Instead, he approached his part in the Paris Exhibition as an expanded version of his Edinburgh Summer Meetings, with organised discussions, lectures, classes and walks throughout the exhibits. This was the pinnacle of the Edinburgh Summer Meetings success, it achieved recognition within the international arts community.⁵¹⁵

Duncan was with Geddes in Paris, and provided help with the organised activities. Once his duties with Geddes were over, he left Paris to go to a teaching job at the Chicago Institute, provided through a contact of Geddes's called Colonel Parker.⁵¹⁶ Chicago had been especially welcoming to Geddes on his speaking tour, he found fellowship among the settlement house movement community (particularly Jane Addams of Hull House). Duncan began his job as the head of the Arts Department at the Chicago Institute in 1901, he had specifically asked for his job to start after the Paris International Exhibition had finished, one of his final collaborations with Geddes.⁵¹⁷

Though their collaborative working environment in Ramsay Garden no longer existed as it once had, Duncan's dedication to Geddes and Geddisian ideals never wavered. Duncan continued on with the work of Geddes in Chicago, he befriended Jane

⁵¹⁵ SUA T-GED

⁵¹⁶ NLS MSS 10509, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, dated 3 April 1900, Duncan was very specific to the Chicago Institute that he would not start work until after the Paris Exposition.

⁵¹⁷ NLS MSS 10509, Letter from Patrick Geddes to John Duncan dated 2 April 1900 and Letter from Duncan to Geddes, dated 3 April 1900.

Addams and spent time at Hull House, established in 1889 as part of the Settlement House Movement.⁵¹⁸ Not only did he spend time at Hull House, he also did some decorative art for the house, and helped “to develop [sic] their little industries of sewing and pottery and basket weaving”.⁵¹⁹ While in Chicago Duncan wrote to Geddes about the possibility of setting up an Art School of some kind, one along the same lines as the one they had developed in Edinburgh. In 1903, with the death of the University president, Col. Parker, Duncan resigned his job and returned to Britain.⁵²⁰

In 1903 Geddes was in the middle of constructing his report *City Development: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust*. Millionaire philanthropist Andrew Carnegie had given a \$2,500,000 bequest to Dunfermline to be administered by the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust.⁵²¹ Geddes was approached by the Trust to devise a plan for the town. Geddes “wildly exceeded his brief” and approached town planning for Dunfermline “in terms of every possible cultural, recreational, and educational activity” possible.⁵²² Geddes’s plan was not chosen for implementation in Dunfermline, which was the town’s loss of course, however it seems a small loss when compared to the benefits *City Development* brought with it. With the compilation and publication of *City Development*, “Geddes had found his voice as the champion of a newly-inspired and potentially vigorous provincial urban life in twentieth century Britain.”⁵²³ Geddes had

⁵¹⁸ SUA T-GED 9/436, Letter from John Duncan to Anna Geddes, dated 7 January 1903.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ NLS MSS 10533, Letter from John Duncan to Patrick Geddes, no date.

⁵²¹ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 161.

⁵²² Ibid., p. 164.

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 163.

found town planning, and it was the “summation of his work over the previous quarter century”⁵²⁴ which had brought him there.

The Celtic Renaissance brought Patrick Geddes and John Duncan to their respective futures, without the Celtic Renaissance, and without each other, they would not have travelled the same path.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 161.

Chapter 5: Celtic and Gaelic, Symbolism and Authenticity

There was an influx of Gaelic Highlanders to the cities of Scotland after the Highland Clearances and during the second industrial revolution. Though there was a significant population of authentic Gaels in Edinburgh at the time of the Celtic Renaissance, Geddes chose not to include them in *The Evergreen*, or in the Celtic Renaissance. The Celtic Renaissance, and particularly Fiona Macleod, became a focal point of debate, primarily over whether or not these were authentic representations of the Real Gaels, and in the case of Macleod exclusively, whether or not she was an authentic Gael. The debate over authenticity and representation is a key to understanding what the purpose of the Celtic Renaissance, as well as its intended audience.

James Macpherson's *The Poems of Ossian*

The Celtic Renaissance had its roots in what Geddes called “the celtic revival of the last century.”⁵²⁵ He was referring to the literary and cultural movement which began with the publication of *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson in 1762. Macpherson had previously published *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), which included early poetry from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. After its success, he was encouraged by his Edinburgh circle to find other ancient manuscripts for

⁵²⁵ SUA T-GED 5/2/9, Patrick Geddes, “Notes for Lecture to Celtic Society (University), 22/10/97 (Not used however)”.

publication. He returned with *The Poems of Ossian*, which were purported to be remnants of ancient Highland poetry attributed to Ossian, the blind bard. More often attributed (as Oísin) to Ulster in Ireland than the Highlands of Scotland, the story of Ossian is similar in both countries. He was a blind poet, the last in his familial line, left in his old age to lament alone the tragedies of his life and the lives of his family in song and poem. Ossian is often portrayed with a harp, a musical accompaniment to his laments, and which is usually seen as a connection to his place in Irish myth and legend.

Featured in the *Book of the Dun Cow* and the *Book of Leinster* (Ireland) c.1100 and the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Scotland) c.1500, the bard Ossian and his stories were known to both cultures from early history. Once Ossian was resurrected into popular culture by Macpherson and published in eighteenth century format, the initial reaction of Britain and Europe was hugely enthusiastic.⁵²⁶ Controversy followed, with claims that the poems were fakes, a view led by Dr Samuel Johnson (1727-1819). It is now known that Macpherson and his circle⁵²⁷ collectively had a hand in constructing the finished *Poems of Ossian*. The *Poems* influences included “Homer’s *Iliad*, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and *Il Penseroso*, Gray’s *Elegy*, Robert Blair’s *The*

⁵²⁶ W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*, (Edinburgh, 1998) p. 232.

⁵²⁷ Which included such Scottish Enlightenment luminaries as Hugh Blair, John Home and Adam Ferguson. Home, interestingly enough, had developed a love of the Highlands and its lore when he served as a Hanoverian volunteer against the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745, (Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p. 228.).

Grave, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Collins's *Ode to Pity* and Home's *Douglas*"⁵²⁸
combined with authentic ancient Gaelic poetry.⁵²⁹

The publication of *The Poems of Ossian* in 1762 brought about debates regarding literature, history and authenticity. First published to high acclaim and drawing readers such as Thomas Jefferson, Napoleon, Goethe and Poe, *The Poems of Ossian* also became a source of debate.⁵³⁰ Though they were originally published as the work of Ossian compiled by Macpherson they were later revealed to be Macpherson's interpretations and embellishments of fragments of Ossianic poetry.

The denunciation of the *Poems of Ossian* had little effect on their popularity, particularly in Europe, where their sentimentality evoked the stirring "of a mood that craved poetry of the heart rather than of the head, and sought sustenance in the old heroic poetry of the Celts and the sagas of the Norse."⁵³¹ The debate which followed the publication of *The Poems of Ossian* arose between those who favoured historical authenticity and those saw more value in the symbolism of the work. This would later

⁵²⁸ J. Dwyer, "The Melancholy Savage: Text and Context in *The Poems of Ossian*", in H. Gaskill (ed.), *Ossian Revisited*, (Edinburgh, 1991) p. 166.

⁵²⁹ C. Kidd, *The Subversion of Scottish History*, p. 221, refers to the D.S. Thomson's *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian*, (London, 1952) as a "detailed analysis of the Gaelic sources which Macpherson actually saw and incorporated in his translated epics [which] has nailed the legend that he [Macpherson] was a complete charlatan."

⁵³⁰ Both Thomas Jefferson and Napoleon found inspiration in *The Poems of Ossian*, C. MacDougall, *Writing Scotland: How Scotland's Writers Shaped the Nation*, (Edinburgh, 2004) p. 104, J. McLaughlin, "Jefferson, Poe, and Ossian", *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 26, no. 4, Special Issue: Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1993: An Anniversary Collection, 1993, pp. 627-634, and C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689- c.1830*, (Cambridge, 1993) p. 221.

⁵³¹ Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p. 231.

become the divide between the Celtic Renaissance and the Real Gaels, symbolism versus authenticity. The question became not was authenticity preferable to symbolism, but rather if symbolism was the opposite of authenticity, if symbolism was fraudulent.

***The Poems of Ossian* published by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues**

William Sharp and Patrick Geddes were launched straight into the 1760s debate over the authenticity of Ossian with the 1896 publication of *The Poems of Ossian*, edited by Sharp, and published through Geddes and Colleagues. Sharp's introduction provided some points of interest for critics. He refuted Dr Samuel Johnson's claim that Macpherson invented the poems, by using the wisdom of J. F. Campbell (1822-1885), who was of the opinion that "the groundwork of much that is in 'Ossian' certainly existed in Gaelic in Scotland long before Macpherson was born."⁵³² Sharp supported Campbell's claim to Ossian and Fionn as genuinely of the Scottish tradition, rather than belonging solely to the Irish tradition.⁵³³ Sharp concluded his introduction with the thought that "the ancient poetry, the antique spirit, breathes throughout this eighteenth-century restoration and gives it enduring life, charm, and all the spell of cosmic imagination."⁵³⁴ Andrew Lang (1844-1912), the antiquarian scholar and researcher of folklore, myth and legend, most notably in his fairy books, (with titles such as *The*

⁵³² W. Sharp (ed.), *The Poems of Ossian*, (Edinburgh, 1896) p. xv. Sharp is referring to Campbell's opinion in *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, volume 4.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii, Sharp is again referring to Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, volume 4.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

Orange Fairy Book and *The Green Fairy Book*),⁵³⁵ was a critic of Sharp's editorship of *Ossian*. Lang's criticism in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was primarily concerned with Sharp's introduction.⁵³⁶ Lang maintained that Sharp misinterpreted or blatantly changed some of the quotes and opinions attributed to others. He found Sharp's introduction "absolutely unintelligible"⁵³⁷ without a copy of the works Sharp referred to at hand. Lang also found that the very pieces of information that Sharp had omitted when truncating statements and misinterpreting quotes is the very information that would have substantiate the points he sought to prove.⁵³⁸ Lang's main argument was that the 1896 edition of the *Poems of Ossian* offered a pulpit for a history of the debate on the authenticity of the poems, but that Sharp had let the reader down with his inexperienced scholarship.⁵³⁹ Since this edition was published by Geddes and edited by Sharp, it could be judged that they excluded the debate over the authenticity of the poems because it was an issue they considered secondary to the poems themselves, or that they did not want to bring into question the authenticity of their own Celtic Renaissance. Yet the debate was part of the beauty of the poems, and would have given Geddes a strong platform to discuss the creation of history and tradition. Sharp's edition of *The Poems of Ossian* could have used his editing in such a way as to tailor the story of *Ossian* and the *Poems* (once again) to a new audience and to revive interest, debate

⁵³⁵ These books combined myth, legend and folklore of many different countries and areas, including Africa, an area much ignored as far as its similarities with European countries.

⁵³⁶ A. Lang, "The Celtic Renaissance", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 161, 1897, pp. 181-192. It is significant that criticism of Sharp's *Ossian* was published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which was representative of mainstream views.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 184. In this case Sharp's scholarship seems to be less than inexperienced, as there was a wealth of material on *Ossian*, the debate about Macpherson, *Ossianic* tradition, and scholars who could have been helpful. This was truly a missed opportunity.

and discussion in such a way as to connect with those in Britain, Europe and America who had previous interest in the *Poems*.⁵⁴⁰

***Lyra Celtica* Published by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues**

Lyra Celtica, also published in by Geddes and Colleagues in 1896, was more favourably received by both readers and critics. The poetry included in the volume contained ancient poems from all Celts; Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Breton and Cornish, as well as modern Scottish and Irish poems. Some of the ancient poetry of enduring fame included in the volume consisted of tales of the Fionn and Cuchullin, Ossian, St Patrick and St. Columba, Maeve the fairy queen and Bran. Contemporary poets whose works were featured in *Lyra Celtica* included: Æ (George Russell) , Emily Brontë, Nora Hopper, Douglas Hyde, Rosa Mulholland, T.W. Rolleston, Katherine Tynan, W.B. Yeats,⁵⁴¹ John Stuart Blackie, Lord Byron, Fiona Macleod, Sir Noël Paton, George Meredith, Ernest Rhys, and Riccardo Stephens.

Lyra Celtica was edited by Sharp's wife, Elizabeth Sharp, and Sharp himself provided the introduction and notes.⁵⁴² In these he claimed (or attempted to claim) well known writers as Celts by virtue of hitherto undisclosed Celtic blood. Sharp wrote, "[o]bviously, the lover of poetry may at once object that Shakespeare, Milton,

⁵⁴⁰ Geddes's Celtic Renaissance would have been eager to make these connections, as Geddes had strove to include many different areas in his activities, and to use these activities to further connect likeminded people of all nations.

⁵⁴¹ Interestingly, William Sharp was so taken by the work of Yeats that in his introduction and notes he shoehorned in as many of Yeats's poems as he possibly could.

⁵⁴² Elizabeth Sharp's contributions should not be minimized, she took care of the often ill Sharp and kept him on track with his own work, as well as pursuing a lively career herself, writing for several newspapers, and editing *Lyra Celtica* and *Women's Voices*, an anthology of poetry written by women, published in 1887.

Coleridge, Shelley, Keats are English, and Byron, Burns, and Scott are Scottish, and not distinctively Anglo-Celtic.”⁵⁴³ Sharp continued, if people posit that Shakespeare “had a strong Celtic strain in his blood” they may not be mistaken, and that “Milton was of Welsh blood through his maternal descent; and Keats is a Celtic name”.⁵⁴⁴ He continued in this vein *ad nauseum*. Notably, out of all his comments on how Celtic lineage may be in blood or demeanour rather than in actual ethnic inheritance, is the fact that he saw a need to separate out what is “Scottish” from what is “Celtic”, as if the two were incompatible. Sharp’s ideas of Celtic in *Lyra Celtica* were expressed in a way which was confused as well as confusing. According to Sharp Celticism was a matter of “the nationality of the brain” or the “important lineage of the brain”.⁵⁴⁵ He also wrote that “[t]o-day, the Gael and Cymri are foreigners”.⁵⁴⁶ If Gaels were considered foreigners to a leading writer in the Celtic Renaissance who was also part of Patrick Geddes and Colleagues publishing company, then it is little wonder they were not included in the Celtic Renaissance.

The idea of Celtic according to Patrick Geddes

Geddes ideas of Celtic were all encompassing and forward thinking. He wanted to include, not exclude. He wanted to use the Celtic past to move towards the future, not to rebuild or recreate the past. Geddes saw the Celtic past as something that could be celebrated internationally, a past connection providing a current connection, a

⁵⁴³ W. Sharp, Introduction in E. Sharp, *Lyra Celtica*, p. xxiii.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p. xxiv.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p. xxxiv.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p. xxxii.

background which could provide an antidote to the industrial progress that dehumanised the workforce.

A few of Geddes's comments compare to those of Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) and John Stuart Blackie (1809-1895) about the Celtic "race",⁵⁴⁷ specifically when he wrote that Celts "are mainly capable of improvement on the one hand and of deterioration on the other. They do not make easily into the everyday average commonplace Englishmen, they move either to the top or to the bottom of the social order."⁵⁴⁸ Both Arnold and Blackie had attributed certain characteristics to the Celts as a race, and agreed that characteristics like "delicacy, spirituality and innate poetic taste"⁵⁴⁹ were Celtic, while more stoic characteristics like being "stolid" and having "determinism" were found in Germanic or Saxon races.⁵⁵⁰ Geddes extolled on this further in his unpublished paper called "The Celtic Races",⁵⁵¹ half-whimsically defining "the Celtic Races" as "those which most completely mixed with and assimilated the pre-existing cultures of the Non-Aryans: the Fairies and the Brownies".⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁷ E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge, 1990) p. 108 defines this notion of race as an ethnic distinction not based on colour, and cites specifically the nineteenth century ideas of relating racial characteristics (under the above definition) to characteristics of "'national' character".

⁵⁴⁸ SUA, T-GED 5/2/9, Geddes's "Notes for a Lecture to Celtic Society (University)" 22/10/97, with a note that these notes were not used for the lecture.

⁵⁴⁹ V. Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages*, (Edinburgh, 1983) p. 201.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ SUA T-GED 5/2/8, Geddes's paper titled "The Celtic Races," dated January 24, 1896.

⁵⁵² Ibid. Generally all those who divide characteristics by race find that the characteristics found in Celts are incompatible with those found in Saxons.

However, unlike Arnold, Geddes nodded towards hope for the modern Celts, “[y]et here and there we see the Celtic type rising to the top.”⁵⁵³ Geddes was also realistic and judged that even in the openness and modernity of the *fin de siècle*, “[i]n such a medium of thought and criticism any Celtic Renaissance cannot be but slow”.⁵⁵⁴ Geddes wrote of Scotland in particular, “[i]n Scotland our Celtic movement is least conspicuous largely because no doubt our Celtic population is out of proportion to the Saxon and Viking elements which are so marked and so evolved.”⁵⁵⁵ Geddes developed this though citing that Celticism in religion, literature and music had all developed, and “[o]ur artistic movement, headed [by] but not confined to the Glasgow School, has gained the enthusiastic recognition of all Europe.”⁵⁵⁶ He concluded that:

Here then it is in Scotland, which is in so many ways the most evolved of the Celtic and semi-Celtic countries, and in which the most archaic survival is in direct contact with the most ingenious industrial and practical initiative that the harmonising Celtic world with its new environment and conditions may most fully and fairly be understood, perhaps initiated, perhaps even accomplished.⁵⁵⁷

Geddes’s hope for the contemporary Celt was that modern and ancient could co-exist together, each complimenting the other. Geddes’s work was full of symbiotic couplings like this, rural and urban, conservation and conservative surgery, ancient and modern.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid. The Glasgow School meaning The Four and the well known artists emerging from the Glasgow School of Art who were gaining popularity through mediums such as *The Studio*, and would gain further fame through it and other showcases such as the International Exhibitions.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid..

In “The Scots Renaissance”,⁵⁵⁸ Geddes wrote that “our new ‘Evergreen’ may here and there stimulate some new and younger writer” and “it would fain now and then add a fresh page to that widely reviving Literature of Locality”,⁵⁵⁹ perhaps referring to a reawakening of the folklore and legend particular to individual areas. Geddes added that “[s]o, too, with its expression of youngest Scottish art, it’s revival of ancient Celtic design”⁵⁶⁰ did *The Evergreen* endeavour to stimulate Scottish artists and writers to create uniquely Scottish works. Geddes also called the movement “our Scottish, our Celtic Renaissance”,⁵⁶¹ and thereby tied the two names to the one movement, a Renaissance, rebirth and renewal. By defining the movement by a name, Geddes had identified it and related it to a message and a purpose, for readers and contributors alike.

William Sharp and Fiona Macleod

There is perhaps no better place to finally examine the nature of William Sharp’s use of the pseudonym of Fiona Macleod than in regard to the definition of Celtic. For Sharp, Macleod’s identity went deeper than a pen-name. Macleod was an alternative identity for Sharp, and one which he professed felt like a split-personality.⁵⁶² Sharp even maintained separate correspondence as Fiona Macleod. Sharp biographer Flavia Alaya wrote that “[t]he testimony of some of the people to whom Sharp spoke of the

⁵⁵⁸ P. Geddes, “The Scots Renaissance”, *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Alaya, *William Sharp*, p.137. See also Chapter 4, pp. 117.

‘mystery’ of Fiona Macleod would lead one to conclude that Sharp grew to believe- or think he believed- a woman’s nature really dwelt within him, whether by possession or by some other means he never clearly specified.”⁵⁶³ Alaya cited the close friendship that Sharp formed with Edith Wingate Rinder as a defining factor in Sharp’s identity as Macleod. Alaya theorised that Sharp may have created the identity of Macleod because he was in love with Rinder, and by separating his identity in this way he could also be wholly in love with his wife. Alaya credited Rinder with inspiring Sharp creatively, she found that

Edith Rinder embodied all the fullness of his new creative life and had awakened in him [Sharp] a Celtic enthusiasm he had not known himself capable of feeling. It was she who had inspired him and perhaps collaborated in the conception, if not the execution, of his Celtic work.⁵⁶⁴

Alaya did not credit Rinder with the creation of Macleod, just the initial instigation of the identity, and considers the “lifelong maintenance”⁵⁶⁵ of Macleod “evidence of a dual or split personality”.⁵⁶⁶ Alaya judged that Sharp would have sustained the identity in some way, as an expression of something suppressed within, “even had the accident of Edith Rinder never occurred to give it its special feminine direction.”⁵⁶⁷

Throughout Elizabeth Sharp’s biographical work on Sharp she is incredibly forthcoming about his dual personality, however, unlike Alaya, Mrs Sharp did not

⁵⁶³ Alaya, *William Sharp*, p.136.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

attribute this to Rinder.⁵⁶⁸ Instead she attributed it to a split personality based on Sharp's feeling of an additional internal life as a woman.⁵⁶⁹ Elizabeth Sharp's biography of her husband has the theme of the creation and shaping of the Fiona Macleod identity running throughout, not only from when he met Rinder, but years earlier as well. However, this does not nullify Alaya's claims, since Mrs Sharp was in a difficult position, and for whatever reason, may have censored herself on the issue of Sharp's split personality. It is possible that the creation of Macleod was brought on, not only by a gender issue, but also as an expression of Sharp's more emotional sentiments such as his love of nature for which he faced ridicule from others. In an undated letter Sharp wrote, "“why am I to be considered inferior to my fellows because I love passionately in her [mother nature] every manifestation the mother who has bourne [sic] us all, and to whom much that is noblest in art is due?””⁵⁷⁰

Katherine Tynan, a fellow contributor to *The Evergreen*, wrote an article about Sharp and Macleod for the *Fortnightly Review* in 1906, where she supported the idea that Sharp may have had a psychological condition of a dual personality, a theory Tynan found medical opinions to support at the time.⁵⁷¹ Tynan herself was of the opinion that Sharp suffered from a type of “possession”,⁵⁷² or at least that he thought he was possessed. Tynan's opinion in this matter is significant because she was one of many

⁵⁶⁸ Possibly out of a desire for her own privacy she omitted this, or possibly she did not consider the connection to Rinder to be relevant, or even existent.

⁵⁶⁹ Sharp, *William Sharp*, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁷⁰ Sharp, *William Sharp*, p. 85, a letter Sharp wrote from Rome, undated.

⁵⁷¹ K. Tynan, “William Sharp and Fiona Macleod”, *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. LXXXV, 1906, p. 576.

⁵⁷² Ibid. C. Cammell, *Heart of Scotland*, (London, 1956), p. 122, had known Pittendrigh Macgillivray, John Duncan and William Sharp and had written of Sharp's “possession” by Macleod.

outsiders on the Sharp/Macleod situation, and perhaps her opinion was shared by others who were perplexed by it.

For Fiona Macleod the murky circumstances were to become even more obscured. If Sharp had been unveiled as Macleod, it would have devastated those who had believed that Macleod's was a true Celtic voice. At an unveiling of the real Macleod identity, those who had admired her work would have felt foolish and preyed upon. Even more so, those who had been moved to embrace Celticism under Fiona Macleod's influence would doubt its validity. Sharp himself knew that "had Fiona Macleod been revealed as a man the entire architecture built upon her would have collapsed."⁵⁷³ Perhaps, both in Sharp's own mind and in the public persona of Macleod, Macleod's work was more influential than could be judged today.

Though this collapse happened, to some extent, it was regardless of when and how Sharp was unmasked as Macleod. Geddes biographer Helen Meller found that Sharp's and Macleod's work was written in a style that is now all but "inaccessible to the modern reader."⁵⁷⁴ Macleod wrote in an antiquated style that was dating quickly even in the 1890s. An example of Macleod's writing style from *The Sin-Eater* shows this well:

[r]unes of this kind prevail all over the isles, from the Butt of Lewis to the Rhinns of Islay:

identical in spirit, though varying in lines and phrases, according to the mood and temperament

⁵⁷³ Alaya, *William Sharp*, p. 138.

⁵⁷⁴ Meller, *Patrick Geddes*, p. 99. See Chapter 4, p. 131.

of the *rannaiche* or singer, the local or peculiar physiognomy of nature, the instinctive yielding to hereditary wonder-words, and other compelling circumstances of the outer and inner life.⁵⁷⁵

It is precisely this type of language that alienated some readers and intrigued others. Even as late as 1932 people still argued about the accessibility and authenticity of Sharp's. The "Letters" page of *The Scotsman* attests to the on-going debate: Donald A. Mackenzie⁵⁷⁶ wrote a letter which stated that "Munro knew much more about real Highland psychic and other experiences than William Sharp or his admirers" and that Sharp's work, most especially as Macleod, was a "sham".⁵⁷⁷ In reply, a writer signed as A.J.M. wrote that he could "appreciate and enjoy Dr Neil Munro's works [...] but I appreciate William Sharp as well".⁵⁷⁸ He continued "I must spread my spiritual wings and take flight from the Neil Munro plane in order that I may arrive upon the plane or sphere to which William Sharp's words are entirely relative."⁵⁷⁹ This battle between authentic Gael life and Celtic spirituality would never be easily settled, which has been part of the reason that Sharp's work has dated so severely.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁵ F. Macleod, *The Sin-Eater and Other Tales and Episodes*, (Chicago, 1895) p. 70.

⁵⁷⁶ Likely this is folklorist and author Donald A. Mackenzie, for whom John Duncan illustrated the volumes of *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* (c.1912) and *Wonder Tales from Scottish Myth and Legend* (c.1917).

⁵⁷⁷ *The Scotsman*, 30 December 1932.

⁵⁷⁸ *The Scotsman*, 2 January 1932.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁰ Because the identity of Fiona Macleod was so separate from that of William Sharp all works and quotes will be attributed to them as separate writers.

The idea of Celtic according to Fiona Macleod

Fiona Macleod's article "Celtic", published in *The Contemporary Review* in 1900, concentrated on developing her ideas on what movement she was involved in and what its basic beliefs were.⁵⁸¹ In the article she made claims which may have startled some readers regarding what she considered as Celtic and not Celtic. The points where she and Geddes were agreed were that Celtic movements were not "an arbitrary effort to reconstruct the past" they were instead "in part, an effort to discover the past."⁵⁸² Geddes expressed agreement with this point, as it referred to "[o]ne day noble traditions long forgot will rouse a mightier literature"⁵⁸³ and "the indestructible sovereignty of the ever-returning past".⁵⁸⁴

Macleod showed an independence from the ideas Geddes expressed (in the context of the Celtic Renaissance) when she resurrected a few of the ideas that Sharp had expressed five years earlier in his introduction to *Lyra Celtica*. She wrote that the so-called Celtic literature of the day was actually English literature, based on the fact that was, for the most part, written "in English and in the English tradition",⁵⁸⁵ regardless of the nationality of the writer. Macleod meant that the term "Celtic writer" was not the correct description for someone who was "[a]n English writer"⁵⁸⁶ (a writer who wrote using the English language), but "who in person happens to be an Irish Gael, or

⁵⁸¹ F. Macleod, "Celtic", *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 669.

⁵⁸³ Geddes, "The Scots Renaissance", *The Evergreen*, Spring, 1895, p. 137

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁸⁵ F. Macleod, *The Winged Destiny Studies in the Spiritual History of the Gael*, (London, 1913) p. 193.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Highland, or Welsh.”⁵⁸⁷ Macleod continued in the earlier vein of Sharp as well when she wrote:

I do not know any Celtic visionary so rapt and absolute as the Londoner William Blake,⁵⁸⁸ or the Scandinavian Swedenborg, or the Flemish Ruysbroek; or any Celtic poet of nature to surpass the Englishman Keats; nor do I think even religious ecstasy is more seen in Ireland than in Italy.⁵⁸⁹

By embracing her own version of Pan-Celticism which included anyone of temperament or talent deemed to be Celtic, Macleod later caused a rift between the Scottish and Irish Celtic movements. Because of the way Macleod handled her ideas of what was Celtic, it also divorced her activities in the Celtic Renaissance from Geddes's, and the Real Gael activities of Glasgow.

Neil Munro and the Real Gael

Geddes's Celtic Renaissance was but one of several expressions of *fin de siècle* Scottish cultural nationalism. Though Geddes's movement had the support of the individual participants it involved, and the readers of *The Evergreen*, it lacked comprehensive support from beyond its insular group. Other Celtic or Gaelic groups in Scotland at the same time had more diverse supporters, perhaps due to their appeal to a wider audience.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 194. These ideas are echoed in Sharp, Introduction in E. Sharp, *Lyra Celtica*, p. xxiv.

⁵⁸⁸ William Blake (1757-1827) is a significant name to mention, especially to tie to Celtic ideals. He had been quite enamored of *Ossian*, and did not find the debate about their authenticity to be relevant to the beauty of the poems (P. Ackroyd, *Blake*, (London, 1996) p. 49.).

⁵⁸⁹ Macleod, *The Winged Destiny*, p. 194.

Chief among the groups with a wider audience, if not wider support, was a movement to preserve the fading language and heritage of the Gael.⁵⁹⁰ Writers like Neil Munro (1863-1930) did not consciously create a “revival” or a “movement” as such, but instead became a focus in contemporary literature for a Scottish Gael voice. Munro’s works differed from those of Fiona Macleod in a few important ways. While Macleod’s works were spiritual and ethereal, part of the folk and fairy legend tradition, Munro’s works were more solid, earthy and written in a style (and a voice) with which the average reader felt comfortable. In the time period of the Celtic Renaissance (1892-1900) Munro was a frequent contributor to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* as well as *The Glasgow Evening News* and *The Globe* (London). In this way, Munro was given a voice in the traditional Scottish establishment, as *Blackwood’s* and *The Glasgow Evening News* were established venues, unlike the newer, less traditional and less established *The Evergreen*. Interestingly, though, there was still a closeness between Munro and Macleod, even if they did not acknowledge it. Munro had been one of the writers featured in *Lyra Celtica* for which Sharp wrote the introduction and the notes.⁵⁹¹ Many of the contributors to *Lyra Celtica* were also contributors to *The Evergreen*.⁵⁹² Munro was not a contributor to *The Evergreen*, possibly due to feelings towards *Lyra Celtica* and Geddes’s Celtic Renaissance in his “Views & Reviews” column in March 1896:

⁵⁹⁰ I must thank Lesley Lendrum for her insights into Neil Munro and her help in bringing Munro’s anonymous newspaper columns to my attention.

⁵⁹¹ Although Sharp had already published under his pseudonym of Fiona Macleod at this time and there was speculation about Macleod’s real identity, Sharp was not yet identified as the person behind the persona.

⁵⁹² See Appendix B.

On the whole, it is a very interesting and helpful volume, giving wonderful evidence not only of the old Celtic spirit, but of its persistence in many contemporary writers. But it is a volume for the Saxon and not for the Celt. This so-called Celtic Revival in Edinburgh is rather a curious thing. It is engineered very largely, I think, by people of no Celtic pedigree.⁵⁹³

It could be surmised that although he had no objection to being included in *Lyra Celtica*, he understandably felt that such a volume could have been produced differently, and perhaps better, for an authentic Celtic audience. Understandably, as a writer for a popular audience, and one proud of his authentic Gael heritage, perhaps he felt that there was a place for study of the Gael that a book like *Lyra Celtica* could have filled, but did not. Perhaps Sharp and Munro were of more agreement in this situation than they appreciated at the time. In *Lyra Celtica* Sharp had written “[t]o-day, the Gael and Cymri are foreigners”,⁵⁹⁴ Munro more than likely would have agreed with the essence of this statement. Sharp saw the otherness of the Gaels, and appreciated that this was a different culture. Though Munro never professed to agree with Sharp, it was Macleod that was the focus of his literary ire, not Sharp. It was the Macleod persona (and maybe Sharp’s difficult personality) that separated these two men of letters from seeing their commonalities.

Both Sharp and Munro worked for Glasgow newspapers. Sharp worked as the London art critic for *The Glasgow Herald* in the 1880s, Munro for *The Glasgow*

⁵⁹³ N. Munro, “Views & Reviews”, *The Glasgow Evening Herald*, 3 March 1896. The column was published anonymously.

⁵⁹⁴ Sharp, Introduction in E. Sharp, *Lyra Celtica*, p. xxxii.

Evening News from the 1890s through the 1920s. The two did correspond and met “several times in Glasgow in the late Nineties, and [Munro] once dined with Mrs Sharp in a Glasgow hotel.”⁵⁹⁵ Munro received letters from both Sharp and Macleod.⁵⁹⁶

Whether or not Munro recognised any Celtic or Gaelic connection with Sharp and/or Macleod, he felt little affinity with Geddes’s Celtic Renaissance.⁵⁹⁷ The lack of authentic Gaels and Gaelic content made Munro question its veracity. In the aforementioned “Views & Reviews” piece Munro goes on to comment that:

There is a Celtic revival of a far more genuine interest than the Edinburgh one, which the Edinburgh enthusiasts are quite incapable of understanding. It is to be found in the Highlands, and to some extent in Glasgow and London;⁵⁹⁸ it is producing valuable and lasting work in MacBean's new Gaelic dictionary and other recent examples of the Gaelic Press, recovering the lost lore of the Highlands, and reviving a Highland interest in the works of the Gaelic bards. When the Clan Societies have banded themselves together into a Gaelic federation, and elevated their ideals beyond an occasional tea-fight, and a used-out war-cry, they may, and they shall, I hope, do their country a useful service by reprinting some of the material - historical, poetical, and domestic - that lies buried in old libraries.⁵⁹⁹

Judging from this piece, Munro finds the authentic Celticism springs from authentic Gaels and scholarly works. He never gives an opinion on whether or not he finds his own work to fit into the category of authentically Celtic, though most literary

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Lendrum, *Neil Munro: The Biography*, (Isle of Colonsay, Argyll, 2004) p. 74.

⁵⁹⁷ According to Lendrum, *Neil Munro*, p. 63, Munro had met Geddes c.1895.

⁵⁹⁸ Note that Munro does not mention any Celtic revival of “genuine interest” in Edinburgh at all.

⁵⁹⁹ Lendrum, *Neil Munro*, p. 65, quotes “Views and Reviews”, 5 March 1896.

criticism texts feel that he and his work both do.⁶⁰⁰ Andrew Lang's article that criticised Sharp's introduction to *The Poems of Ossian* also commended Munro on his "genius"⁶⁰¹ that made the Highlands live again. Lang complimented Munro on "his knowledge being copious, original, [and] at first hand",⁶⁰² and characterised Munro's work as "[r]eally Celtic".⁶⁰³ Thus Lang effectively showed his idea of the division between authentic and inauthentic. Munro would likely have been pleased by this view on his own authenticity as a representative Celt. Munro's own views on what was and was not authentic in the Celtic Renaissance were possibly additionally motivated by his own personal dislike (or distrust) towards Geddes. He wrote to John Macleay of the *Highland News*,⁶⁰⁴ "About 'The Evergreen'- or rather about Geddes- well you know my sentiments[,] I have positive instinct that he is a fatal person to have anything to do with in literary matters, I have never known my instincts in a case like that to go wrong!!!" Munro continues, "Some of my best friends were the artistic" programme of *The Evergreen*, "+ though they smiled at my superstitious aversion to St Patrick a year or two ago, they agree with me now. Sir, so you ken that I have the second sight as part of my Celtic equipment!"⁶⁰⁵

Munro was familiar with *The Evergreen* and the Celtic Renaissance from his

⁶⁰⁰ M. Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, (London, 1992) p. 346, classifies Munro as a "Highlander", M. Walker, *Scottish Literature Since 1707*, (London, 1996) p. 217, refers to Munro's standing (along with John Buchan and Compton Mackenzie) as an entertainer in Scottish literature. In anthologies or works on Scottish authors the authenticity of Munro's Gaelic past are not called into question.

⁶⁰¹ A. Lang, "The Celtic Renaissance", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1897, vol. 161, p.190.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Also a contributor to *The Evergreen*, Autumn and Summer issues. See also Chapter 4, p. 119.

⁶⁰⁵ NLS Acc 11973, Letter from Munro to Macleay dated 29 December 1896. The friends he refers to likely includes Pittendrigh Macgillivray.

journalistic work and through his friend Pittendrigh Macgillivray. Macgillivray, an artist, sculptor and writer, was published in *The Evergreen*, but known to Munro from a friendship that dated from his Glasgow Boys days. Munro, in a piece published in 1931, remembered *The Evergreen* as “beautifully-printed” and “highly creditable to Professor Geddes”.⁶⁰⁶ Perhaps the intervening years softened his view of Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance.

But Munro never did warm to Fiona Macleod’s contributions to the Celtic Renaissance, nor did time soften his opinion of her. He found her “original, honest to herself and her ideals, and she often achieves the beautiful, but she harps too much on one key, and her technique is defective.”⁶⁰⁷ He found that her first novel, *The Sin-Eater* (1895), painted “the Scottish Gael as if he were eternally listening to the wail of Ossianic ghosts” and considered this to be a grave “misrepresent[ation of] a very varied and interesting people.”⁶⁰⁸ Her use of Gaelic rankled with him as she used complicated and obscure words, “when really she should be seeking a very simple vocabulary to give the English reader a correct idea of the primitive and simple beauty of the Gaelic tongue in which her characters and she herself ought to be supposed to speak.”⁶⁰⁹ *The Sin-Eater* was one of the books that Munro had trouble with Macleod’s use of Gaelic. An example of Munro’s opinion that Macleod used over-complicated Gaelic is found in her story “The Dàn-non-Ròn”, where one character says to another, “*Tha iad a’ cantuinn*

⁶⁰⁶ Munro, *The Brave Days*, (Edinburgh, 1931) p. 293.

⁶⁰⁷ N. Munro, “Views & Reviews”, *Glasgow Evening News*, 1 November 1895.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

gur h-e daoine fo gheasan a' th' anns no roin”⁶¹⁰ which Macleod translated to “they say that seals are men under magic spells”.⁶¹¹ Sharp had put into the media that Macleod was a Highlander and that she spoke Gaelic fluently, but Munro pulled her up on her mistakes every time he found one. In an article ten years later the one previously mentioned, Munro caught her out again, holding the position that “[s]he does not know what anyone who speaks the simplest colloquial Gaelic is bound to know”⁶¹² and that “[t]here are several examples of this kind which show clearly that Gaelic is not in her ear any more than in her pen.”⁶¹³ In this instance Munro cited *The Winged Destiny* as terribly obscure language (in Gaelic) as well as being host to mistakes in basic Gaelic grammar. He asked “[i]s there any Highlander who knows what *Nigheag Cheag a Chroin* means in English?”⁶¹⁴

Contemporary critics of both authors tended to lump Munro and Macleod together in articles like “Recent Celtic Experiments in English Literature”⁶¹⁵ in 1896 and “The Celtic Renaissance”⁶¹⁶ in 1897, most likely because their books published in 1895 were set in Scotland and both authors were Scottish. Modern critics seem to write of the two authors together either because of chronology, or due to the fact that both the

⁶¹⁰ F. Macleod, *The Sin-Eater*, p. 163.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² N. Munro, *The Looker-On*, (Edinburgh, 1933) p. 274. The article quoted here was originally published in 1904.

⁶¹³ Ibid., p. 275. Macleod was unmasked as Sharp a year later with Sharp’s death in 1905. Munro never doubted that Macleod had appeal to some, and a definite naïve talent and must have been both vindicated to find out that she was a fake, and saddened by Sharp’s burden of deception.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid. Macleod translated the above phrase to mean “the little washer of sorrow”. Macleod, *The Winged Destiny*, p. 29 and Munro, *The Looker-On*, p. 275.

⁶¹⁵ “Recent Celtic Experiments in English Literature”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1896, vol. CLIX no. DCCCCLXVII.

⁶¹⁶ Lang, “The Celtic Renaissance”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1897, vol. 161.

authors used pseudonyms.⁶¹⁷ Literary historian Douglas Gifford suggested that a Scottish writer's use of pseudonyms, like those used by William Sharp/Fiona Macleod and Neil Munro/Hugh Foulis in the 1890s was due to "the recurrent Scottish authorial crisis of identity".⁶¹⁸ Later use of pseudonyms by Scottish writers like C.M. Grieve/Hugh MacDiarmid in the 1930s Scottish Renaissance also pointed towards identity questions. The idea that Scottish writers in particular used pseudonyms because of a crisis of conscience or identity has merit. However all information in the case of Neil Munro points to his anonymous work and his work under a pseudonym as being that of a compulsive writer who did not want to overexpose the use of his name in newspaper column authorship.⁶¹⁹

The Irish Celtic Revival

The Irish Celtic Revival (sometimes called the Celtic Revival or the Irish Revival), started in the 1880s and lasted well into the 1920s and the development and establishment of the Irish Free State, so it existed during the time the Celtic Renaissance of Patrick Geddes and Fiona Macleod its most potent. The Irish and Scottish Celtic movements had begun with similar ideas of cultural nationalism, but in 1900, if not earlier, their paths split. Like the Celticism of Scotland, of which there were several movements in a similar vein, Ireland had more than one Celtic Revival under that very vague heading. One of the revivals existed under the captainship of William Butler

⁶¹⁷ D. Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 3 Nineteenth Century*, (Aberdeen, 1989) p. 9, points out this, as well as Munro's pseudonym of Hugh Foulis.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ Not unlike William Sharp's periodical *The Pagan Review* (c. 1892) in which Sharp wrote the entire content under pseudonyms so that he did not appear to be the only author.

Yeats (1865-1939) (with strong influences from Lady Augusta Gregory (1852-1932) and George Russell (1867-1935), also known as A.E. or Æ).⁶²⁰ Yeats's clique of participants in the larger Irish Celtic Revival had ties to Geddes through William Sharp and Fiona Macleod.

Yeats had been in correspondence with William Sharp from at least 1896,⁶²¹ though probably since c.1894. Sharp's and Yeats's contact began primarily about *Lyra Celtica* when the Sharps were working on compiling the entries for it.⁶²² Sharp's contact with George Russell, a nationalist writer and cohort of Yeats, began the same way, instigated when Russell sent Sharp a letter about *Lyra Celtica* c.1896.⁶²³

Lyra Celtica had featured a number of writers from Ireland's Celtic Revival.⁶²⁴

Scotland and Ireland (particularly the Highlands and Islands of Scotland) had an established historical connection, which included shared myths, legends and songs and the similarities of Scottish and Irish Gaelic languages. Links between the Irish and Scottish Celtic movements were established through the cross-pollination of ideas and issues spread through meetings and correspondence between Celticists of the two nations. Sharp, Geddes and Duncan were all in contact with Irish Revivalists (Duncan a

⁶²⁰ Æ meaning æon and eternity, a name that Russell developed for himself in the 1890s.

⁶²¹ J. Kelly (ed.), *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats volume. 2 1896-1900*, (Oxford, 1997) p. 36, has a letter from Yeats to Sharp dated 1896, though p. 75 fn 13 cites Sharp meeting Yeats in 1887. J. Kelly (ed.), *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats, vol. 1 1865-1895*, p. 469 has a letter from Yeats to Mrs. Sharp dated July 1895, about the use of some of his poems in *Lyra Celtica*.

⁶²² Elizabeth Sharp was the editor of the volume, Sharp himself provided the introduction and the notes.

⁶²³ NLS MSS 15941, letter from George Russell to Sharp, undated c. 1896.

⁶²⁴ See Appendix B.

bit later than the others),⁶²⁵ and *The Evergreen* was, in part at least, responsible for the sharing of ideas. Seven and a half percent of the contributors to *The Evergreen* were Irish, and the more noteworthy of the contributors included Douglas Hyde (1860-1949), Standish O'Grady (1846-1928), Nora Hopper (1871-1906) and Rosa Mulholland (1841-1921).⁶²⁶ All of these contributors had some kind of relationship to Yeats, and Hyde and O'Grady were well known influential writers and nationalists. (Sharp was especially a link between the two, as will be seen in more detail later.) Both movements also faced the judgement of the press. "Nationalism is becoming more and more a cult," wrote a journalist in the periodical *New Age* in 1895, comparing the "lifting up [of] Home Rule [by Ireland] from the dusty arena of politics to the clearer regions of literary grace" to Geddes's work in Old Town Edinburgh and the work of the Marquis of Bute in St. Andrews and concluding that they are "doing a similar service to the sentiments of the patriotic Scot".⁶²⁷

Cultural nationalism in both Scotland and Ireland was shaped in part by their historical and continued exposure to England, and their situation within the British Empire. In both cases people and groups negatively defined themselves through things that they did not have in common with England, thereby showing that they had maintained their own culture. The maintenance of native culture (or the revival of

⁶²⁵ C. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*, (Oxford, 2000) p. 277 identifies a relationship between Duncan and Yeats, though it is unspecified when or where this was started. P. Benham, *The Avalonians*, (Somerset, 1993) p. 123 quotes Duncan's daughter, Mrs. Christine "Bunty" Martin, as remembering Yeats as a family friend who visited the home on more than one occasion.

⁶²⁶ See Table 1.

⁶²⁷ SUA 8/1/8, *Evergreen* Cuttings Book, article from *New Age* (London), 24 October 1895.

suppressed, oppressed or discarded culture) along with display of otherness was vital to crafting an identity.⁶²⁸

Both Scotland and Ireland used facets of ancient Celtic past as a starting point for their search for their distinct cultural identity. Both were influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement and the teachings of William Morris.⁶²⁹ Both feature poetry, fiction and prose.

Ireland's Celtic Revival, William Sharp and Fiona Macleod

However, despite their similarities, or perhaps because of them (maybe again showing a separation of culture through differences) there were differences between Scottish and Irish Celtic cultural nationalism groups in the 1890s. Comparing specifically Irish and Scottish Celticism, the most significant difference is the linguistic one. Though Yeats did not support making Gaelic the national language he did not believe it should be unknown or unstudied. The Irish Celtic Revival, which Yeats was involved in, incorporated the Gaelic League and all it encompassed; therefore, whether or not he supported its goals, he was still associated with them. Geddes, on the other hand (again, not that he desired an end to Gaelic either) was not associated with any revival of Gaelic, or of any language. He showed some sympathy with the Scots

⁶²⁸ See Chapter 1, pp. 9-12

⁶²⁹ Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh*, and for Morris's influence on Yeats see "An Exhibition at William Morris's" in J. Frayne, (ed.), W. B. Yeats, *Uncollected Prose vol. 1, 1886-1896*, (London, 1970) pp.183-186. For the influence of Morris and Arts and Crafts on Geddes see Chapter 2.

language by featuring it in articles now and then (most notably in “The Scots Renaissance”),⁶³⁰ but even then it was a gesture with no quantifiable result.

While the art of the Irish Celtic Revival has been traditionally associated with artists such as Jack Yeats (1871-1957) and George Russell (Æ),⁶³¹ because the Irish Celtic Revival was so strong, its influence permeated many other artistic endeavours, even if not directly connected, such as the Arts and Crafts movement in Ireland.⁶³² Both Jack Yeats and Russell were involved with creating designs for the Dun Emer Guild, where Yeats’s sisters, Susan Mary “Lily” Yeats (1866-1949) and Elizabeth Corbet Yeats (1868-1940) both worked.⁶³³ In Scotland, the Celtic Renaissance also abounded with Celtic art, much of which was instigated by Geddes, and then subsequently by Duncan. The Ramsay Garden murals were awash in Celtic sentiment shown both in the chosen subjects and in the borders of Celtic tracery (accomplished by John Duncan, Helen Hay and Nellie Baxter).⁶³⁴ The Old Edinburgh School of Art featured classes in Celtic ornament, and even after *The Evergreen* ceased publication, Geddes supported John Duncan’s attempts to begin classes in Celtic design in Dundee.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ Geddes, “The Scots Renaissance”, *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895.

⁶³¹ N. Bowe, “Dublin” in Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh*, p. 82.

⁶³² N. Bowe, “‘Dreams Long Hoarded’: Aspects of Cultural Identity Leading to the Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland, c.1886-1925”, *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, vol. 9, 2004, pp. 35-40.

⁶³³ Bowe, “Dublin” in Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh*, p. 208.

⁶³⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 97-98.

⁶³⁵ University of Dundee Archives, Recs A/225/7/(86), a leaflet about the class’s introductory meeting with a guest lecture by Geddes. NLS MSS 10531, letter dated 12 September 1898 to Geddes from Duncan says he is conducting a class “on Celtic Ornament this winter” in Dundee.

As the differences in art and literature developed between Celtic movements in Ireland and Scotland, so did the political differences. Though Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance were based in Scotland, they had an international dimension of Celts united from many countries.⁶³⁶ The Irish Celtic Revival for the most part did not desire unification with other Celts, in Scotland, Brittany, Cornwall or Wales. Ireland endeavoured to find its own identity, and wanted no attachment to other cultures or identities to cloud its national vision.

George Russell's close friendship with Yeats, and Yeats's increased friendship with Sharp, led to Sharp's visit to Ireland c.1897. Unfortunately for Sharp, Russell and Lady Augusta Gregory (a patron of Yeats's as well as an author herself) found Sharp "an absurd object, in velvet coat, curled hair, wonderful ties- a good natured creature- a sort of professional patron of poets- but making himself ridiculous by stories to the men of his love affairs & entanglements, & seeing visions (instigated by Yeats)".⁶³⁷ It was about this time that Macleod's identity came under scrutiny and endeavours associated with Macleod came under suspicion. When told that Sharp was to chair a meeting of an organisation that Yeats was to speak at Yeats was "furious" and said this "w[oul]d bring ridicule on the whole movement",⁶³⁸ Yeats compelled Lady Gregory to intercede, to stop the event from becoming a mockery, and to ask for Sharp's voluntary exclusion,

⁶³⁶ Not just Celtic countries or areas, but also the Netherlands, France (not just Brittany), Belgium and parts of America. However, these countries, as well as others, also had other movements of cultural nationalism, most were exclusive to their area and culture, few were as all-embracing in nature as that of the Celtic Renaissance.

⁶³⁷ Kelly (ed.), *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats* vol. 2, p. 119, fn 11. Kelly quotes Lady Gregory from J. Pethica (ed.), *Lady Gregory's Diaries 1892-1902*, (1996).

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 148, fn 2. Kelly quotes Lady Gregory from Pethica (ed.), *Lady Gregory's Diaries 1892-1902*, (1996).

which she did, and Sharp stayed away.⁶³⁹ There was a similar feeling about the creation of what would later become The Abbey theatre. Originally there had existed an idea (c.1897) that a theatre might be created and called the Celtic Theatre, titled so to include Macleod and her works.⁶⁴⁰ This idea was vetoed by Lady Gregory, who had not warmed to Sharp, as she found his “Celticism absurd”,⁶⁴¹ likely in reference to his Pan-Celtic approach. Lady Gregory thought that the only reason for a Celtic movement to exist was “‘to persuade the Scotch to begin buying our books, while we continued not to buy theirs’.”⁶⁴² Gregory, along with others, preferred to concentrate on Ireland and its Celtic past alone.

It is unlikely that Macleod was reacting to any of this when her “Celtic” article was published in 1900.⁶⁴³ It is also unlikely that it was published to draw attention away from the identity controversy that Macleod was facing in the press. After all, the production of a somewhat controversial article like “Celtic” only raised Macleod’s public profile. From 1897 articles were being published concerning the mysterious author’s real identity. Neil Munro received a letter from Macgillivray which asked him if he was Fiona. Munro replied, “[n]o, my dear Sir, my name is not Fiona”.⁶⁴⁴ In a letter dated August 1898, Neil Munro wrote to *The Highland News* contributor John

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ J. Kelly (ed.), *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats* vol. 2, p. 277, fn 14 and p. 121, fn 2. The date of Sharp’s visit is confirmed in Elizabeth A. Sharp, *William Sharp*, p. 287.

⁶⁴¹ Kelly, *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats* vol. 2, p. 277, fn 14.

⁶⁴² Ibid., p. 121, fn 2. Kelly quotes Lady Gregory from Pethica (ed.), *Lady Gregory’s Diaries 1892-1902*, (1996). Kelly also points out that this issue is an uncomfortable one for Yeats, who was in favour of, and somewhat tied to, the Pan-Celtic movement. For more on the Pan-Celtic movement see this chapter pp. 182-184, and Chapter 6, p. 225.

⁶⁴³ Macleod, “Celtic”, *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900. See this chapter, pp.162-163.

⁶⁴⁴ NLS Dep 349, no. 52, letter from Munro to Macgillivray, no date.

Macleay who had been corresponding with Fiona Macleod asking, “[w]here is Fiona?”⁶⁴⁵ The press were also on the hunt for Fiona, with articles in *The Highland News*, *The Daily Chronicle*, *The Dublin Daily Express*, all picked up by other papers.⁶⁴⁶

Russell’s reply to Macleod’s “Celtic” article (written under his pseudonym Æ) was featured on the front page of Standish O’Grady’s *All Ireland Review*. Entitled “Irish Ideals and Fiona Macleod”, the article was written both as a rejoinder to certain comments made by Macleod and to illuminate the aspects of Ireland’s cultural revival that Macleod had ignored in her insistence that there was one united Gael/Celt. Russell began on the difference between what Macleod called “race hatred” or “partizan[ship]”⁶⁴⁷ and which Russell (and others) identified as “patriotism and nationality”, meaning political involvement in the cultural and political separation from Great Britain.⁶⁴⁸ Where Macleod found “[t]he ‘Celtic Movement’” not an effort to reproduce the past, but an opportunity to discover the it, and to “seek in nature and in life, and in the swimming thought of timeless imagination, for the kind of beauty that the old Celtic poets discovered and uttered”,⁶⁴⁹ Russell countered with the view that it is Ireland’s “last stand for freedom”⁶⁵⁰ that they were not pursuing some quaint notion of a bygone past, but instead they fought a threat to a tangible, living culture. Macleod

⁶⁴⁵ NLS Acc 11973, Neil Munro to John Macleay dated 5 August 1898.

⁶⁴⁶ *The Highland News* (Inverness) 22 May 1897 did an article that was picked up by the *British Weekly*. *The Daily Chronicle* (28 January 1899) and the *Dublin Daily Express* (30 January 1899) also ran similar articles. Kelly, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume II*, ed., Kelly, p245 n4, and p. 369. As E. Sharp, *William Sharp*, p. 230, recounted, “Questions as to the identity of the author were already ‘in the air’” and “the author already felt ‘her’ security menaced” (c.1894).

⁶⁴⁷ Macleod, “Celtic”, *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900, p. 669.

⁶⁴⁸ Æ, “Irish Ideals and Fiona Macleod”, *All Ireland Review*, August 18th, 1900.

⁶⁴⁹ Macleod, “Celtic”, *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900.p. 669.

⁶⁵⁰ Æ, “Irish Ideals and Fiona Macleod”, p. 1.

preached that “[i]f a movement has any inherent force it will not destroy itself in forlorn hope, but will fall into line, and so achieve where alone the desired success can be achieved.”⁶⁵¹ Russell found this thought objectionable in two aspects, first, that it was disquieting and disagreeable “to find a Celt declaring against our movements as forlorn hopes” and second, he considered the “lay[ing] aside of [our] hopes” to be a path to the loss of “mental integrity”.⁶⁵² Macleod was advocated compromise and the retention of individual national identity within a larger (British) whole, and Russell found the idea of compromise uncomfortable and a slippery slope towards losing Irish identity altogether. He warned that “God gives no second gift to a nation if it flings aside its birthright.”⁶⁵³

However, these differences are small compared to his parting comments at the end of the article. In Macleod’s article she questioned the nature of a Celtic writer. She considered a writer who wrote in the English language an English writer, regardless of their heritage or background, Celtic or otherwise.⁶⁵⁴ In the same article she declared “I for one am willing to be designated Celtic” if by Celtic it is meant “that one is an English writer who, by birth, inheritance, and temperament, has an outlook not distinctively English”.⁶⁵⁵ Macleod is confusingly multifaceted throughout her article, her definitions of Celtic and non-Celtic are fluid to the point of meaninglessness, and it

⁶⁵¹ Macleod, “Celtic” *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900.p. 672.

⁶⁵² Æ, “Irish Ideals and Fiona Macleod”, p. 1.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Macleod, “Celtic”, *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXXVII, 1900.p. 673.

⁶⁵⁵ Æ, “Irish Ideals and Fiona Macleod”, p. 1.

is no wonder that Russell and others found her ideas “cloudy”.⁶⁵⁶ Russell closed his article with the following passage:

She [MacLeod] humbly speaks of herself as a representative voice of the Gael. That is a claim which the Gael in Ireland will repudiate; for the Gael in Ireland, in addition to his traditions which are shared to some extent by the Scottish Celt, has the aspiration to a distinct and self-governed nationality, and no one can claim to represent him who does not share this national aspiration.⁶⁵⁷

Russell here clearly delineated the boundaries between the two countries in the past and in the present. He asserted that they have had traditions in common, and both can be called Gaels, but he drew the line of political involvement for a nation, and there Scotland did not follow.

MacLeod responded to Russell, though not in the public arena of the journals where they had debated before. Instead the response came as a prelude in the “Celtic” article, when it was included in *The Winged Destiny: Studies in the Spiritual History of the Gael* (published in 1904). Those who had followed the debate in 1900 may have been unaware of this new argument, so it is difficult to judge how much it influenced public opinion on the matter. MacLeod began by defending her “Celtic” article under the argument that “in controversy nothing else was revealed than that enthusiasm can

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. It was not just Irish readers that found MacLeod’s ideas confusing, on the letters page of the above issue of the *All Ireland Review*, a Scottish reader wrote in to applaud Æ’s “denunciations of Fiona MacLeod [sic]”.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. Æ ends his article by classifying MacLeod as an “English writer”, which according to part of her discourse in the “Celtic” article, as a writer in the English language, she is.

sometimes lead to confused thought and hasty speech.”⁶⁵⁸ She stated that the “aim of this essay” is “reconciliation” between two people (herself and Russell) “with divergent individual aims and ideals”.⁶⁵⁹ Macleod maintained that she “generalised too vaguely” about the issue of English language writing indicating English ethnicity and “[o]f course I meant nothing so narrow in claim, so foreign to my conviction, as that one must ‘be English.’”⁶⁶⁰ However, again Macleod reverted to the earlier argument that “if one would write English literature, one must write in English and in the English tradition”⁶⁶¹ and went on to cite Yeats and Russell as writers who did this.⁶⁶² Then, once again, Macleod endeavoured to clarify this by constructing a further argument that each English speaking culture, be it Irish, Scottish, American, or Australian, wrote in their “native”⁶⁶³ language, which is English, but their own unique culture and tradition informed their writing to make it their own, though it remained in the English language.⁶⁶⁴ Though it is clumsily (and wordily) made, it is a valid argument, one that is of parallel support to Yeats’s linguistic argument (examined below).

The result of the debate between Macleod and Russell was that Macleod was branded as either English or British, her ties to the Gael were questioned, and Russell

⁶⁵⁸ Macleod, *The Winged Destiny: Studies in the Spiritual Heritage of the Gael*, (London, 1913) p. 169. The 1904 version was an amended reprint of the original 1895 printing, and included a few new pieces, like the Prelude mentioned above.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 170.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 172.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., p. 173.

⁶⁶² Ibid., p. 175.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 173-176.

arose the victor, at least among Irish Celtic Revivalists.⁶⁶⁵ Russell knew almost certainly at time of the “Celtic” essay that he was dealing with William Sharp, whom he had once admired, and who he then felt to be to be a desecrator of all things Celtic.⁶⁶⁶ Macleod was not impervious to disapproval, especially from Yeats. She sent Yeats a copy of “Celtic” along “with a new introductory part”,⁶⁶⁷ most likely the “Prelude” included in 1904 edition of *The Winged Destiny*. Macleod wrote “I believe you do not care for the ‘Celtic’ essay: for that I am sorry, for I think it of my best, and that it will sink deeper and go further and last longer than anything I have written.”⁶⁶⁸ It seemed that the friendship between Yeats and Sharp was dwindling, and in his last letter to Yeats, Sharp chastised him for his “continuous and apparently systematic ignoring of any communication from me”.⁶⁶⁹ Sharp’s instinct was correct, that from the 1900 and the publication of “Celtic” Yeats had become disenchanted with Sharp and Macleod both, though his disenchantment was never marked by some of the stronger derision others showed. When Neil Munro met Yeats in 1921 and the talk turned to Sharp and Macleod, Yeats was “[a]musingly ironical in his references to Sharp’s so-called ‘double

⁶⁶⁵ W. Gold, J. Kelly, and D. Toomey (eds.), *Letters to W.B. Yeats, vol. II*, (Oxford, 1997) p. 552, fn. 1, in a letter to Yeats on 13 July Russell felt slightly bad about his attacks on Macleod, but wrote that “I hope it will do Fiona Sharp some good”, though “his attitude towards her hardened as the quarrel unfolded.”

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid. The footnote cites a letter from Russell to Lady Gregory dated c. 8 August 1900, which said “tell Yeats on no account to show Sharp or Fiona the Celtic symbols I gave him nor any of the Auras. If he does they will be desecrated and I will never speak on Celtic things to him any more.”

⁶⁶⁷ R. Finneran, G. Harper, and W. Murphy (eds.), *Letters to W.B. Yeats vol. I*, (New York, 1977) p. 93. Letter from Macleod to Yeats, dated 23 November 1901.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. Letter dated December 1905, it was Sharp’s last letter to Yeats, Sharp died 12 December 1905, and Yeats was sent by Mrs Sharp a posthumous note from Sharp which divulged that he had been Fiona Macleod all along (Finneran *et al* (eds.), *Letters to W.B. Yeats vol. I*, pp. 157-8.). Similar notes were sent to others among Sharp’s close friends.

personality'. Yet there seemed to be a desire to regard sympathetically Sharp's mystic inspiration by this phantom being'''.⁶⁷⁰

Despite Sharp's disappointing relationship with the Irish Celtic Revival, Scottish Pan-Celtic activities continued, such as the Pan-Celtic Congresses. The first Pan-Celtic Congress was held in Dublin, Ireland in 1901. The purpose of the meeting, as reported by at least one press outlet, was to bring together "those which have kept alive their ancient language and customs in defiance of their Teutonic overlords."⁶⁷¹ One of the messages of the Congress, relayed in a speech by Congress President Lord Castletown, was that the Celtic people must not just live in the past, saying, "I would have you also look forward."⁶⁷² He went on to comment that he believed the "Celtic revival is for the good of the thoughtful world" and that one "must have the true antidote to the awful monotony of life. The Celt teaches us what this is."⁶⁷³ The second Congress was held in Carnarvon, Wales in 1902,⁶⁷⁴ and it was at point that Cornwall was admitted to the Pan-Celtic brotherhood, having been voted down for admission at the first Congress. The attendance for the second Congress was large, "drawing audiences of 10,000 people"⁶⁷⁵ for its concerts and generally bringing the Pan-Celtic movement to a broader following. At the third Pan-Celtic Congress in Edinburgh in 1907, Patrick Geddes headed the Art Section and Marjory Kennedy Fraser gave lectures on folk songs of the

⁶⁷⁰ Lendrum, *Neil Munro*, p. 237, quoting from Neil Munro's retrospective diary, 8 November 1921.

⁶⁷¹ "Pan-Celtic Congress", *The Chautauquan: A Monthly Magazine for Self-Education*, October 1901, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, p. 7.

⁶⁷² "Pan-Celtic Congress in Dublin: Representatives of the Five Celtic Nations Assemble", *The Gael: An Gaodal*, October 1901, p. 316. Geddes was reported as being a delegate who was present at the first Pan-Celtic Congress (*Ibid*, p. 316.).

⁶⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 318.

⁶⁷⁴ Also spelled Caernarvon and Caernarfon

⁶⁷⁵ "Address to the Pan-Celtic Congress of 1907 by Lord Castletown, President of the Congress", *Scotia: The Journal of the St. Andrews Society*, vol. 1, 1907, p. 325.

Hebrides.⁶⁷⁶ Geddes pressed for the compilation of “*A Monumenta Celtica*- [a book on ancient Celtic archaeological remains] which would bring before them in a simple, intelligible form some outline of this great heritage.”⁶⁷⁷ Geddes’s involvement in a gathering of this type at this point is very significant. Obviously his love of Celtic art, archaeology and legend was still strong, and he chose to attend (and chair a section at) a Pan-Celtic Congress, showing solidarity in shared Celtic heritage and shared ideas,⁶⁷⁸ at a time when the Celtic Renaissance had ceased to function as a group or a movement.

Later differences with the Scottish and Irish Celtic movements can be traced to the political identification with Britain. The Celtic Renaissance chose to work within the larger identity of Great Britain/United Kingdom, whereas the Irish Celtic Revival pointedly refused to do. On this basis the Irish Celtic Revival’s politicisation created a divide between Ireland and Scotland, including the Pan-Celtic movement. The representatives of other Celtic countries and areas in the Pan-Celtic movement were not as political in their activities as Ireland, and this was the basis for the rift that developed. It is significant that Ireland chose to separate from the Pan-Celtic movement to pursue a separate, more political, agenda.

These differences and changes in the politicisation between Ireland and Scotland are illustrated in early letters exchanged between Sharp and Russell. In an undated letter

⁶⁷⁶ SUA 5/2/20 Newspaper article from *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1907.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid. Perhaps this *Monumenta Celtica* was meant to redress the problems that some (like Munro) had found with *Lyra Celtica*, or perhaps Geddes felt that a new and/or improved volume was needed.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

(c. 1896) Russell wrote to Sharp that through the publication of *Lyra Celtica*, “we can visualize as the growth of an immense tree this Celtic imaginative literature”.⁶⁷⁹ This expression of an appreciation for Pan-Celticism is in strong contrast to his later ideas. Russell also wrote, “Such selections as yours will do us a real service by putting before these people some other ideals beside the arid political ones, which were so necessary, but which leave behind them no momento [sic] of the really heroic and unselfish spirit that lay beneath.”⁶⁸⁰ These thoughts are a departure from his later political activities (such as his involvement in the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society) and his appreciation for the political mechanisms of constructing a cultural identity. This letter is significant because it provides evidence of Russell’s earlier feelings, when he and the Irish Celtic Revival were comparatively young and inexperienced, and charts the evolution of Russell’s nationalism (when viewed against his later ideas). It was shortly after this period of youth, idealism and an acceptance of Pan-Celtic ideas that things changed for Russell, and “[a]fter 1898 he gradually abandoned the Celtic for the Irish mode.”⁶⁸¹ The Irish Celtic Revival then attached its literary products of poetry, drama and literature to politics for Ireland and excluded other Celts from its production of identity.

⁶⁷⁹ NLS MSS 15941, undated letter from Russell to Sharp, c. 1896.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ P. Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.: ‘The antagonism that unites dear friends’*, (Gerrards Cross, Bucks, 1986) p. 169.

Language and Cultural Nationalism

The views of Hutchinson, Smith, Hobsbawm and Hroch on nationalism provide basic models for the requirements of a successful nationalist movement.⁶⁸² Constructing a model out of their combined opinions manufactures the necessary circumstances of public support, use of myths and legends as cultural life-blood, and some language revival. Linguistic revival was a particularly significant issue, especially in the case of Scotland and Ireland. Ireland's battle with language was more public than Scotland's, and more of a vital issue to cultural nationalism. With Ireland's own Act of Union (1801) in the comparatively recent past, the re-establishment of cultural nationalism and language was more vigorously pursued than in Scotland. The establishment of the Gaelic League in 1893⁶⁸³ was at first, at least, a non-politicised move, or as Hobsbawm describes it, "the Irish Language was not an issue in the Irish nationalist movement",⁶⁸⁴ or perhaps it did not begin as an issue.

Language was indeed a sticking point, more so for Ireland than for Scotland. The rise of the revival of Ireland's Gaelic language arrived at the same time that Ireland's greatest writers were creating their masterpieces- in English.⁶⁸⁵ This crippled the Gaelic language revival campaign to some extent. As did the likes of Fiona Macleod in her "Celtic" article, insisting that if it was written in English it should be categorised as

⁶⁸² See Chapter 1, pp. 12-15.

⁶⁸³ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, p. 106.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, (London, 1996) pp. 155-156.

English literature. James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*⁶⁸⁶ classified English as a foreign language to Ireland, "The language he is speaking is his before it is mine", says central character Stephen Dedalus, "[h]is language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech."⁶⁸⁷ Gaelic did not provide a solution acceptable to all for the language problem. Yeats, for instance, backed building "a national tradition, a national literature which shall be none the less Irish in spirit from being English in language"⁶⁸⁸. He thought this could be accomplished by combining the English language with the "indefinable Irish quality of rhythm and style"⁶⁸⁹ and thus creating an Irish version of English. This is reminiscent of the argument that Macleod made, that each unique culture transforms the English language, and she argued particularly that Yeats and Russell's poetry "in spirit and atmosphere is more distinctly Gaelic than English. But the instrument is English".⁶⁹⁰

Language also provided a note of conflict within the each of the Celtic movements of Scotland and Ireland, for how could they be considered Celtic without supporting authentic Celtic languages?⁶⁹¹ It was easily enough done in Scotland, where cultural nationalism could develop without strong connections to Gaelic (though with increasing connections to Gaelic (and Scots) from 1900 on). Because the Celtic Renaissance was able to mobilise its small group of followers without the Gaelic

⁶⁸⁶ First published as a serial in 1914 and 1915 and in book form in 1916.

⁶⁸⁷ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (London, 1994) p. 270, from James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, (New York, 1964) p. 189.

⁶⁸⁸ Frayne (ed.), W. B. Yeats, *Uncollected Prose I*, p.255, this is an excerpt from a letter Yeats wrote to the Editor of *United Ireland* in 1892.

⁶⁸⁹ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p. 155, quoting Yeats from an unidentified source.

⁶⁹⁰ Macleod, *The Winged Destiny*, p. 175.

⁶⁹¹ For Scotland there is also the issue of the choice between three languages; English, Gaelic and Scots.

language issue it succeeded in opening that route for later groups working through cultural nationalism.⁶⁹² Perhaps better to be free of Gaelic language ties than to be caught out as a possibly inauthentic Highlander through doubtful Gaelic usage like Fiona Macleod. Ireland was different, but with the connection to Gaelic League from the 1890s,⁶⁹³ it fulfilled the perceived requirement for the elevation of the Gaelic language.

Scotland's relationship with Gaelic was multi-layered. Where once Gaelic had been a language widely used in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, it began to fall out of common usage around the time of the Highland Clearances, as the native inhabitants/native Gaelic speakers were displaced. This was compounded somewhat by the feeling that "the future was useless, that the future lay with English."⁶⁹⁴ The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the participation of the clans against the Union caused Gaelic to be seen as a sign of "barbarity and jacobitism".⁶⁹⁵ Eighteenth century Gaelic scholars like Edward Lhuyd attempted to prove that a relationship existed between "the Celtic languages and the Indo-European linguistic group", a step which "provided evidence to refute those who condemned the Celtic languages as barbarous dialects".⁶⁹⁶ Various Gaelic societies and groups began developing after the '45, and Macpherson's *The Poems of Ossian* only heightened scholarly interest in Gaelic in Scotland. These groups, usually consisting of the literati, were not interested in the use of Gaelic as a

⁶⁹² After the Celtic Renaissance ceased to function as a group, some of those associated with the movement, such as W.G. Burn-Murdoch and Pittendrigh Macgillivray, would go on to espouse Scottish Nationalism.

⁶⁹³ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p. 146.

⁶⁹⁴ MacDougall, *Writing Scotland*, p. 186.

⁶⁹⁵ Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages*, p. 189.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 190,

daily language, but rather as “a museum piece of for the refined sentiments and heroic endeavours of the misty Celtic past.”⁶⁹⁷ Although John Stuart Blackie, Chair of Celtic Studies at the University of Edinburgh from 1882, felt that “the Gaelic language should be cherished and cultivated”,⁶⁹⁸ and Geddes himself was influenced by Blackie,⁶⁹⁹ this still did not bring Gaelic into the Celtic Renaissance. This is relevant because groups, like the informal Gael movement in which Munro was included, did embrace the revival of the Gaelic language. The Celtic Renaissance was also a movement that included academics and social activists, but for whatever reason the movement did not instigate linguistic revival of either Scots or Gaelic, perhaps because that measure would have provincialised a movement which prided itself on its internationalism. Perhaps Geddes had not even thought that Gaelic or Scots should have been brought into the Celtic Renaissance, as those were languages collected by his friends Marjory Kennedy Fraser and Alexander Carmichael. Perhaps he thought of his movement as too forward thinking for that antiquity, or maybe it was just another barrier to his creed of internationalism that had to be pushed aside.

Even though there was a common denominator of Celticism in the 1890s, Geddes and Macleod had different ideas of what “Celtic” movements were and what they should accomplish. Macleod’s ideas, including her clash of ideas with George Russell, only served to highlight the differences between the Irish and Scottish Celtic

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 197.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 199, referring to Blackie’s “Teaching Gaelic”, pp. 129-136.

⁶⁹⁹ Geddes begins his piece “The Scots Renaissance” in *The Evergreen*, Spring, by describing the scene of Blackie’s funeral. Welter, *Biopolis*, p. 222, cites Blackie’s funeral as a source of inspiration for Geddes’s Masques.

movements. Additionally, Neil Munro's criticism of Macleod and her work illustrated the gap between Celticism and the existing Gael culture. The Celtic Renaissance's missing linguistic link is relevant only in the light of the Gaelic resurgence in Scotland, and most particularly in Glasgow and in the work of Neil Munro. Echoes of the 1760s Ossian controversy are evident in the criticism of Macleod's Gaelic identity and language and when their authenticity was doubted, and even more so when Macleod's existence was put under scrutiny. The Celtic Renaissance was not a popular movement. It was not a movement for "the people," nor did it intend to be a people's movement. It was a rallying point for those who were open to, or had already subscribed to, Geddes's Celtic Renaissance, which included Pan-Celticism and internationalism. Geddes encouraged links to Europe and links to other movements of cultural nationalism. This was not out of character for Scottish cultural nationalism, Scotland's auld alliance with France, her dusty, half forgotten link with Europe, had once existed, and it is a sign of a true revival that Geddes tried to once more enable communications between Scotland and Europe. Celtic movements were similar to the revivals of Europe in that they had taken a common idea of Celtic heritage and moulded it to each specific group, very like the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements offered the chance to Britain, Ireland and Europe to conform Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau to their own unique heritage.

Chapter 6: Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the state of knowledge provided in the previous chapters of the thesis and to answer some of the questions brought up therein. The items which will be addressed will include: whether or not the Celtic Renaissance was a revival, what the impact (or lack thereof) was of the Celtic Renaissance, and how it compared to other movements of cultural nationalism in the *fin de siècle* world.

The Celtic Renaissance and the nature of revival

Patrick Geddes's Celtic Renaissance has been designated a Celtic Revival both by its contemporaries and by modern historians. In the context of cultural nationalism this designation is troublesome as a revival has certain criteria which must be met. Historian of cultural nationalism Anthony Smith wrote about the necessity of resurrection myths and legends from the collective past to reestablish the "past golden age",⁷⁰⁰ of a group.

Historian of cultural nationalism Miroslav Hroch established that one key aspect which is needed for revival is "national consciousness",⁷⁰¹ meaning that the movement must be popular among the many disparate groups that form a nation.⁷⁰² The other

⁷⁰⁰ A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford, 1999), p. 58. See also Chapter 1, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰¹ M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, (New York, 2000) p. 12.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

factor which Hroch found necessary for a cultural revival is a perceived level of oppression to react again. The oppression can be negligible or even non-existent, what is important is that is perceived as actual and it bonds the group against their oppressor(s).⁷⁰³ Hroch did not consider language as a necessary factor in cultural revival, but others do.⁷⁰⁴ Anthony Smith,⁷⁰⁵ Eric Hobsbawm,⁷⁰⁶ and Edward Said⁷⁰⁷ all found language to be a significant part of cultural revival. Reviving a language native to the group helped it establish a bond between the members.

The Celtic Renaissance does not seem to fit into the criteria of a true revival. It lacked the linguist facet often found in similar revivals of cultural nationalism, and neither strove for, nor achieved, political independence, a hallmark goal of many cultural revivals. The fact that it was focused on Celtic matters rather than Gaelic ones (much as its name suggests) influenced its subject matter and the range of art, literature and cultural programmes it produced. The Celtic Renaissance revived the essence of Macpherson's *The Poems of Ossian*, the idea of finding inspiration in Scotland's past, though it did not delve into the actuality of the scholarly research on ancient Celtic Scotland. By labelling Celtic Renaissance as a renaissance and not a revival, Geddes sent a strong message about the intent of the movement to resurrect the essence of Celticism rather than its actual history.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 9-12.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 164-166.

⁷⁰⁵ A. Smith, *National Identity*, (London, 1991) p. 74

⁷⁰⁶ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London, 2002) pp., 147, 158, 161, E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge, 1990) p. 109.

⁷⁰⁷ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (London, 1994) p. 260.

Without the battle for a linguistic revival within its cultural one, the Celtic Renaissance does not seem to fit all the requirements of a cultural revival. However, Scotland does fit in with most of the significant fields highlighted by cultural historians, and in fact with popular wisdom of the time. In an issue of *London* in 1895, Geddes and the contributors to *The Evergreen* were labelled as a “band of culture workers”,⁷⁰⁸ a label of which Geddes might have approved, and would be even more correctly applied to all of his Old Town Edinburgh activities and *The Evergreen*. The Edinburgh Social Union and the Old Edinburgh School of Art fit in well with the idea of “culture work”, as did Geddes’s continuing projects of University Hall and the Summer Schools.

For the most part the Celtic Renaissance does conform within most models of a revival in cultural nationalism. Smith describes ethnic myth as a unifying force, “it strives to unify different classes and regions, spreading ethnic culture outwards from the urban centres” to create a “more participant society”.⁷⁰⁹ Perhaps the Celtic Renaissance did not strive to unify regions outside of Edinburgh in more than the most basic Pan-Celtic way. However, within Edinburgh and through the Old Edinburgh School of Art, the Edinburgh Social Union and the Summer Schools, Geddes endeavoured to include people of all different classes and backgrounds. Geddes used Edinburgh as his urban centre base from which to spread his message via *The Evergreen*, Geddes and Colleagues publications and through the press reports of his programmes and activities.

⁷⁰⁸ SUA 8/1/8, *Evergreen* Cuttings Book, article from *London*, 23 May 1895, illustrated with Duncan’s *Anima Celtica* from the Spring issue.

⁷⁰⁹ A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford, 1999) p. 135.

Smith also attributed the role of “rediscovery and reinterpretation” of “the communal past in order to regenerate the community” to “political archaeologists”.⁷¹⁰ Though Geddes has never been labelled a political archaeologist before, the idea of Geddes as a re-discoverer, re-interpreter and regenerator seems to fit.⁷¹¹

Geddes himself saw four distinct Celtic movements in the 1890s, listing them as “the Celtic Renaissance, the Irish Literary Society, the Welsh Eistedfodd, [and] the Gaelic scholars and story-tellers”.⁷¹² This suggests that while Neil Munro had complained that no actual Celts were involved in the Celtic Renaissance, Geddes had recognised that traditional Highland and Island Gaelic culture was a separate entity from the Celtic Renaissance. This is highly significant, it means that the criticisms directed at Geddes about the lack of authenticity in the Celtic Renaissance, not only by Munro, but also by Andrew Lang,⁷¹³ as well as others in the press,⁷¹⁴ were not valid because Geddes had never intended the Celtic Renaissance to be an authentic revival of Celticism. This leads to the conclusion that the Celtic Renaissance does not fit into known models of cultural nationalism, and Geddes did not intend that it should have done. The Celtic Renaissance stands out in the *fin de siècle* because it was unlike many other cultural movements which do fit into the models of cultural nationalism explained by Hobsbawm, Hroch, Smith, and Hutchinson.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., p. 181.

⁷¹¹ In fact, after Amelia Defries work on Geddes called *The Interpreter Geddes*, the label seems to fit rather well.

⁷¹² SUA T-GED 5/2/6, undated paper by Geddes called “The Celtic Renaissance- Columban and Contemporary”.

⁷¹³ A. Lang, “The Celtic Renaissance”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1897, vol. 161.

⁷¹⁴ “Recent Celtic Experiments in English Literature”, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1896, no. DCCCCLXVII, vol. CLIX, pp. 716-729, for instance, queries “why such a revival should be needed”. As Chapter 4 has shown about the press reaction to *The Evergreen*, there were similar queries.

The Celtic Renaissance and Spirituality

A significant part of the metaphorical aspect of the Celtic Renaissance was found in its spirituality. Geddes inspired devotion in some which was akin to religious fervour. A postcard that Duncan wrote Geddes from the boat on his way to Chicago to take up his teaching position illustrated the devotion that Geddes inspired. His postcard said:

Dear Professor[.]

I am your very faithful disciple. And I carry your notes with me as my Scriptures, and shall diligently strive to live up to them. I have your suggestions and regard them as definite instructions to be punctually carried out. This will come all the easier as they so completely coincide with my own aspirations- aspirations which you evoked in me,

affectionately yours John Duncan [.]⁷¹⁵

Duncan was not the only disciple that Geddes acquired, nor was he the only acquaintance who saw the possibility of Geddes himself as a way of life, or as a guru.⁷¹⁶ Philip Boardman, one of Geddes's biographers who was personally acquainted with him and had studied under him, recounted an anecdote in which an American woman, Josephine Macleod, who said to Margaret Noble, a disciple of Swami Vivikananda, "If you hear of a man called Patrick Geddes, follow him up. He is the type of man to make

⁷¹⁵ NLS MSS 10531, Duncan to Geddes, no date, c.1900.

⁷¹⁶ NLS MSS 10549, Duncan to Geddes, 3 July 1927, Duncan addressed his letter, "Dear Guru". NLS MSS 10548, Duncan to Geddes, nd, is also addressed "Dear Guru".

disciples.”⁷¹⁷ Boardman also called Duncan Geddes’s “protégé”,⁷¹⁸ a term with less strength than disciple, but one closely associated with that specific type of relationship. A contemporary newspaper, *The Review of Reviews* called Geddes a “prophet”.⁷¹⁹ Geddes biographer, Paddy Kitchen, recorded that James Mavor (longtime friend of Geddes, editor of the *The Scottish Art Review* and Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow, and later in Toronto), called Geddes a “modern Christ”.⁷²⁰ Yet another Geddes biographer, Amelia Defries, who had come into contact with him through his large undertaking of the Masque of Learning in 1913 in London, found Geddes to be “a wizard”⁷²¹ who “had roused enough doubts and questions in my mind to provide thinking matter for years”.⁷²² Indeed, Defries’s devotion to Geddes was such that she wrote a biography of him titled *The Interpreter Geddes: The Man and His Gospel*. This would seem to point Defries out as another of Geddes’s disciples. A list of disciples and protégés must of course include Geddes’s son-in-law Frank Mears and his longtime correspondent Lewis Mumford.⁷²³

⁷¹⁷ Boardman, *Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future*, (Chapel Hill, 1944) p. 221.

⁷¹⁸ P. Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-educator, Peace-warrior*, (London, 1978) p. 149.

⁷¹⁹ SUA T-GED 8/1/1, The Evergreen Cuttings Book, *The Review of Reviews*, June 1895.

⁷²⁰ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person: The Life and Ideas of Patrick Geddes, Founding Father of City Planning and Environmentalism*, (USA, 1975), p. 120, quoting from a letter to Geddes from Jean Craigie Cunningham. Cunningham’s letter goes on to say “There are some folks who appreciate your work now [c. 1892] and love and honour you and feel themselves grow strong ... and full of life-giving power in thinking of your work.”

⁷²¹ Possibly like Ramsay Garden mural subject Michael Scot.

⁷²² A. Defries, *The Interpreter: Geddes: The Man and His Gospel*, (New York, 1928) p. 60.

⁷²³ S. Leonard, “Finding Geddes Abroad”, in W. Stephen, ed., *Think Global, Act Local: The Life and Legacy of Patrick Geddes*, (Edinburgh, 2004) p. 42, calls Mumford “Geddes’s most prominent American disciple”.

The fact that Geddes was a respected and beloved teacher is indisputable, however his “gospel,” as Defries called it, is another matter. What was it that Geddes offered his followers that they were so intrigued by and so willing to follow? Geddes’s use of eighteenth century Celticism as a metaphor extended into eighteenth century Celtic spirituality as well. Much like the Celtic Renaissance’s version of Celticism, the spiritual aspect of the movement was based on its eighteenth century predecessor. Geddes’s ideas of spirituality featured a heavy dose of nature and respect for the natural world, ideas that were mirrored in the content of *The Evergreen*.

Geddes’s work with nature was of course more than just an appreciation for its beauty and its service as home to Scots throughout the ages, as shown through his work as a botanist. As Professor of Botany at the University of Dundee Geddes used the gardens to illustrate not only botanical knowledge, but also other sciences, as well as “Ancient History, Fine Art or Political Economy”.⁷²⁴ Again, Geddes’s ideas on nature are shown throughout *The Evergreen*, particularly in his scientific articles. In the “Prefatory Note” of the Autumn volume of *The Evergreen*, Geddes (with Victor Branford) wrote that “The ‘Return to Nature’ is a rallying call each age must answer in its own way”.⁷²⁵ Again in the Autumn volume, in his article “The Sociology of Autumn”, Geddes extolled the virtues of nature and of man’s general need for it (even in

⁷²⁴ Article from *The College*, vol. XXIX, June 1932, in Matthew Jarron, “‘Forget the Silly Notion that I’m Here to Teach you Botany’ - Patrick Geddes at University College Dundee”, in Matthew Jarron, ed., *The Artist and the Thinker: John Duncan & Patrick Geddes in Dundee*, (Dundee, 2004) p. 36.

⁷²⁵ VVB [V. Branford] and PG [P. Geddes], “Prefatory Note”, *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895.

urban life), saying, “the task of our urban autumn as harvest is that of the field; and to this men return with health and hopefulness gained from a contact with nature.”⁷²⁶

Similarly to those who in the eighteenth century Ossianic ideal found its spiritual home in the Highlands, the Celtic Renaissance too found an historical personage and his environment as a touchstone. For them it was St. Columba and his Isle of Iona. Both Sharp and Duncan had found Iona to be inspirational to their work, as had others in the Celtic Renaissance.⁷²⁷ *Evergreen* contributor Jane Hay was reassured by the island’s timeless quality, “[t]he grand old earth was the same as it had been even in Columba’s days: the mornings were just as bright, -the waves dances just as merrily,- the larks sang just as sweetly, --nor were the gamboling lambs less happy because of those who had lived, suffered and slept”.⁷²⁸ Like Geddes, Hay found that mankind’s relationship to nature was vital to survival in modern times. She wrote:

it is only when men have grown away from Nature, when they have shut themselves in cities and grown aliens in their proper home-land that they cease to feel themselves her children, and fear to meet her in death. Then they forget, and fail to see her glory, and build themselves fancies of a world beyond, the very images of which are drawn from the simple life which is within reach of

⁷²⁶ P. Geddes, “the Sociology of Autumn”, *The Evergreen*, Autumn, 1895. Geddes’s plan for Dundee’s botanical gardens would have fulfilled man’s need for nature in the urban environment, sadly they were not realised under his tenure, but they were successfully later implemented.

⁷²⁷ C. Cammell, *Heart of Scotland*, (London, 1956) p. 229, wrote that “Duncan had known Sharp well and had traveled with him in his latter days in the Western Highlands and Hebrides”. However, neither Duncan, Geddes nor Sharp ever referred to similar circumstances of friendship and travel, though both Duncan and Sharp were known to, individually, love the Highlands and Islands. Later, Duncan would influence the Scottish Colourists, particularly Cadell, to travel to Iona (D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century 1890-2001*, p. 39). Macmillan considers Geddes to have been of significant influence to Colourist John Duncan Fergusson in particular (Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century*, (Edinburgh, 2001) p. 33.). Fergusson seems to have been influenced in particular by Geddes’s “Scots Renaissance” article in the Spring number of *The Evergreen*, 1895 (T. Normand, *The Modern Scot: Modernism and Nationalism, 1928-1955*, (Hants, 2000) p. 110).

⁷²⁸ Jane Hay, “The Dance of Life”, *The Evergreen*, Summer, 1896.

all who will quietly and reverently listen.⁷²⁹

This appeal to people of conscience to forge a spiritual relationship with nature as a salve to the wounds of modern life inspired readers to attach their search for new spirituality to Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance. St. Columba and Iona were, for members of the Celtic Renaissance and for Geddes, icons and talismans whose influence lasted beyond the short life of the Celtic Renaissance. Sharp wrote to Geddes in 1897 concerning possible “Iona pilgrimage-celebrations”⁷³⁰ and, ever the self-promoter, suggested the re-issue of some of Macleod’s stories, it is unclear if the proposed events were ever realised. However, in 1913 Geddes and Colleagues published *St. Columba: A Study of Social Inheritance and Spiritual Development* by Victor Branford. Branford had hoped that the recent interest in Masques of Ancient Learning (possibly one of Geddes’s most successful ventures in the numbers of attendance, and in which St. Columba was a notable figure) would reignite popular interest in St. Columba and he appealed for donations towards the erection of a statue of St. Columba to go on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh.⁷³¹ In his text Branford investigated not only the biography of Columba, but also his historical and spiritual context. The choice of Iona as a metaphorical spiritual home and Columba as a spiritual figure cannot be accidental. Further enforcing that the choice was premeditated, St. Columba has more in common with Ossian than is coincidental. Though Macpherson had produced *The Poems of Ossian* while discounting the possibility that the Scots as a people had any origins in

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ NLS MSS 10563, Letter from W. Sharp to P. Geddes, dated May 1897.

⁷³¹ V. Branford, *St. Columba*, (London, 1913) p. 1.

Ireland,⁷³² both Scotland and Ireland had Ossianic legend traditions which developed in parallel and informed one another.⁷³³ Columba had ties to both countries as well, born and educated in Ireland he settled on Iona as “banishment to a heathen land”,⁷³⁴ for inciting a battle in Culdremhne/Cooldreveny in Ireland. Though Irish by birth Columba became one of Scotland’s most significant spiritual leaders, much like Ossian who, often cited as being an Irish legend, became one of Scotland’s most significant cultural icons.

Many of the participants in the Celtic Renaissance as well as those on its periphery found a living version of Columba in Father Allan McDonald of Eriskay (1859-1905). Neil Munro called Father Allan⁷³⁵ “a spiritual father and a human comrade.”⁷³⁶ A Gaelic speaker and Roman Catholic priest to several parishes in the Hebrides but based in Eriskay, Father Allan touched the lives of many of those involved in Celtic and Gaelic activities in the 1890s and early 1900s. Father Allan was a collector of history, folklore and Gaelic songs, as well as a writer, a poet and a spiritual leader. Perhaps his greatest similarity with St. Columba was the way he connected with the island people, Munro remembers that “his folk came about him unabashed and affectionately; it was to us strange to find them on such a footing with him of free speech, and even raillery, the raillery that knows the proper bounds and is based on

⁷³² F. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, (Edinburgh, 1988) p. 151-152.

⁷³³ The connections between Scottish and Irish legends, particularly in the Fenian Cycle of which Ossian is a part are shown in D. Meek, “The Death of Diarmaid in Scottish and Irish Tradition”, *Celtica*, vol. 21, 1990.

⁷³⁴ Branford, *St. Columba*, p. 54

⁷³⁵ He was generally called Father Allan, not Father McDonald.

⁷³⁶ N. Munro, *The Brave Days: A Chronicle From the North*, (Edinburgh, 1931) p. 303.

esteem and fondness.”⁷³⁷ Many folksong collectors found guidance from Father Allan, such as Geddes’s friend and Summer School participant Marjory Kennedy-Fraser.⁷³⁸

However, it was John Duncan who noticed the most similarity between Father Allan and St. Columba. Duncan wrote to Geddes c.1913, “I would like to make a more vigorous St. Columba. It was a singular mingling of sweetness and energy that characterised our saint. I would like to do him in a boat sitting at the helm as I so often saw Father Allen who had some of his practical power if he lacked his audacity.”⁷³⁹ The loss of the Old Edinburgh School of Art had hit Duncan hard, he felt that he had failed Geddes on some level, and wrote to him from Chicago:

There is room for a good art school here in Chicago. I wish you were here and we could I am sure make an art school such as you dreamed of in the old days, related to thought – to the University- on the one hand, and to the work-a-day world on the other. Its work to be the decoration of public places and the making of picture books such as your soul loves and furniture and pottery and embroideries and such-like.

There is nothing of the kind here and everybody is just ready for it, an interested public, an eager maker. If you care to hear more of this dream, I shall write you out a page or two and send them to you.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 307.

⁷³⁸ Sadly, Father Allan’s research was plagiarised by Ada Goodrich Freer c.1897-1898 and this disheartened him to such an extent that he was less forthcoming with his folklore research than he had been previously (see J.L. Campbell and T.H. Hall, *Strange Things: The story of Fr. Allan McDonald, Ada Goodrich Freer, and the Society for Psychical Research’s enquiry into Highland second sight*, (Edinburgh, 2006).).

⁷³⁹ SUA T-GED 12/3/31, letter from Duncan to Geddes, undated c.1913.

⁷⁴⁰ NLS MSS 10533, Duncan to Geddes, no date, c. 1903.

It was Father Allan who inspired Duncan to again think of an art school, this time in the Highlands and Islands. Duncan's notebooks show plans for a school on a "Columban plan"⁷⁴¹ of workers and novices (rather than teachers and students). The proposed school would not only provide artistic education, but also give supplemental income to the locals through the production of handcrafted goods.⁷⁴² In his plan he goes as far as to add in Father Allan, "Novices are further requested to make friends with the local antiquary who is usually the minister and to study his books on the subject of Celtic art."⁷⁴³ Duncan developed his proposed art school idea into more of an art colony, he was full of ideas of how students would "familiarize themselves with the materials available in the district where they are at home and at work" and "to bring suggestions of possible arts that might be introduced."⁷⁴⁴ Regretfully he never put his idea for an island art colony into practice, though he may have used some of his ideas when he later taught at the Edinburgh College of Art.

Father Allan's mix of Catholicism and Gaelic spirituality was not unlike that practiced by Columba. Both were a mix of devotion to the Church and its teaching combined with a pragmatism which accepted the Islanders superstitious believe in myths

⁷⁴¹ NLS ACC 6866/4, John Duncan's notebooks.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

and folklore. This was the only way that religion could be practical in places with such a strong myth and folklore tradition.⁷⁴⁵

The Isle of Iona and its environs illustrated well the Celtic Renaissance views on the spirituality of nature, particularly through the Isle of Staffa, the location of Fingal's Cave (Figures 31 and 32). The mouth of the cave opens to reveal an interior which resembles a natural cathedral, with high stone pillars arching to a narrower, pitched stone ceiling. This majesty in nature that man echoed in his spiritual architecture could not have been lost on the artists and writers of the Celtic Renaissance, especially to contributors to *The Evergreen*, particularly as the very basis of the journal was nature and its seasons.⁷⁴⁶

Though what seems to have influenced Geddes and Duncan the most were the spiritualities found in nature and in past, both in Christian and Celtic saints and legends, there were contemporary developments that may have also influenced their concepts of spirituality. Theosophy, developed in the 15th century by Jacob Boehme, had resurfaced in a modern guise, which:

⁷⁴⁵ This tradition of blending folklore and religion (and its resurgence) is also evident in the Green Man, who resurfaced in the architecture of the Victorian Age (W. Anderson, *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth*, (London, 1990) p. 150-153.).

⁷⁴⁶ Staffa also connects Ireland and Scotland, the stone formations that are found in the Giant's Causeway in Northern Ireland are also found in Staffa, offering a unique geographical and geological connection.

addressed these concerns [modern day worries and cares] in a progressive way. Adapting contemporary scientific ideas to posit the idea of spiritual evolution through countless worlds and era, Theosophy restored dignity and purpose to humankind's earthly life within a cosmic context.⁷⁴⁷

Though this relates very closely to Geddes and Duncan, practitioners of modern Theosophy did so to a lesser extent. Specifically practitioners like Madame Blavatsky, who in her first book, *Isis Unveiled*, attacked Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* and Thomas Huxley's *Physical Basis of Matter*.⁷⁴⁸ Geddes was a scientist first, and would have been unimpressed by attacks on science and scientific fact.

It was not only to readers of *The Evergreen* that Geddes addressed his messages about nature and spirituality. Geddes endeavoured to expand the lives of those participant in the Celtic Renaissance as well, and most particularly those resident in Ramsay Garden. In 1897 Geddes pioneered ideas for a collective Country House in Lasswade (near the Pentland Hills of Edinburgh's Lothian region) and for a house exchange scheme, both to include Ramsay Garden residents so that they could enjoy time in rural areas in addition to their life in Edinburgh.⁷⁴⁹

These ideas of country and city living combined recall the phrase "Rural/Urban", which is frequently found in Geddes's work. While Geddes was not living in fear of the

⁷⁴⁷ N. Goodrick-Clark, *The Western Esoteric Tradition: A Historical Introduction*, (Oxford, 2008) p. 211. Also influential, but less immediately relevant to the Celtic Renaissance is Rosicrucianism, which identified with alchemy and which became connected with the Freemasons in the 18th century.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 216.

⁷⁴⁹ Proposals for both schemes can be found in SUA T-GED 12/1/53.

advancing technology, indeed what self-respecting scientist would be, he recognised a need for more than just bald scientific advancement. Furthermore, Geddes recognised a need for balance in modern life, and achievable balance at that, which is why he set up schemes and encouraged applicable adaptations of his ideas to others, such as the house exchange. Unlike William Morris, Geddes faced technological advancement head-on, and instead of hiding in a recreation of the past, strived to incorporate the best new ideas with the best features of the past. Geddes and Morris are said to have fallen out.

Geddes biographer Paddy Kitchen found that Geddes “condemned William Morris for failing to change a situation where ‘art has always been the treasure of the ruler, not the daily environment of the people’ despite his socialist intentions.”⁷⁵⁰ James Mavor, a friend of both Morris and Geddes cited that “Geddes had been on the same track as Morris”,⁷⁵¹ however, their theories (and methods) differed⁷⁵² and Geddes “did not believe that in razing society to the ground in order to rebuild a new society in its place.”⁷⁵³ In his own work, probably never published, perhaps never meant for public consumption, Geddes accused Morris of having “no personal sympathy” with the products he produced and of his movement, despite its progress, still being “concerned with the accumulation of that confused wealth so characteristic of the Philistine period.”⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁰ Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person*, p. 147, quoting from an unnamed source.

⁷⁵¹ J. Mavor, *My Windows on the Streets of the World*, vol. I, (New York, 1923) p. 215.

⁷⁵² Welter, *Biopolis*, p. 100, describes it more as a difference between Geddes’s enthusiasm and Morris’s scholarly interest.

⁷⁵³ Mavor, *My Window on the Streets of the World*, vol. I, p. 216. Mavor also cited that Geddes did not have the financial power that Morris did to address change (Ibid., p. 215), but that he showed more sympathy to the people and their environment while enacting change (Ibid.). Welter, *Biopolis*, p. 120, also cites their differences between Morris’s antiquarian preservation and Geddes’s city regeneration with the people in mind.

⁷⁵⁴ SUA T-GED 5/3/68, Patrick Geddes, “The Work of the Art School”, nd. Also see Chapter 3, p. 73-74.

Along with the idea of the country house Geddes also pioneered an idea of a house exchange, whereby members of the scheme in city abodes (in both Britain and Europe) could swap with those in the country so that both would have a chance to experience rural and urban lives. Benefits to both, Geddes wrote, included a reduction in the cost of holidays and trustworthy tenets to keep the properties safe and maintained.⁷⁵⁵ For those in city this would naturally seem beneficial, however Geddes also pointed out the benefits to the country-dwellers, “[t]he attractions of town life could thus be much more cheaply, healthily and agreeably obtained”.⁷⁵⁶ These town attractions included the cultural opportunities available, and though Geddes does not specify it can be inferred that this would include particularly the museums and galleries in walking distance of Ramsay Garden in particular, as well as his Summer School.⁷⁵⁷ The idea of the rural-urban house exchange flies in the face of the Morris-like ideas by suggesting that cities could be of value to those living in the country. Geddes’s scheme was envisioned so that through “London, Edinburgh and Oxford, cathedral and country towns, the Midlands or the Lakes, the Lowlands, Highlands and Islands may thus all be accessible”⁷⁵⁸ at an affordable rate to members. Thus Geddes tried to embrace the need for both the rural and the urban in the life, and particularly to bring this balance in to the lives of his friends and colleagues.

⁷⁵⁵ SUA T-GED 12/1/53, Paper written by Geddes on “The House Exchange”, 12/24/97.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

Though Geddes encouraged the house exchange scheme to benefit both those in rural and urban locations, his work during the Celtic Renaissance period was focussed on changing the city to benefit those in Edinburgh's Old Town. When writing on a point about how cities were affecting life Geddes explained his vision that:

What are our stone houses but artificial caves, what we but the modern Troglodytes, who in our smoky labyrinths forget the outer world, and think no more of the seasons (save in society slang) because we have made ourselves a city life as near as any may be to perpetual winter?

We are indeed the New Troglodytes; hence our restless and ant-like crowding, our comfortable stupor of hibernation, our ugly and evil dreams. Here is a main clue to the sociology and psychology of those wicked fairies who are such characteristic developments of the populations of the sunnier southern cities, of those sullen gnomes so common in the gloomier northern ones. So, too, we may understand much of the physical degradation of their inhabitants. We know the secrets of the metals, and forge new weapons and invent strange mechanisms and cunning fables like the dwarfs of old. And like them we are stunting ourselves anew.⁷⁵⁹

It was this stunted development that Geddes was striving to help Edinburgh's Old Town overcome through projects like the Edinburgh Social Union, *The Evergreen*, and the Summer Schools. He was deeply concerned about the "perpetual winter" that cities created and found that there were ways to alleviate it, principally through cultural regeneration.

⁷⁵⁹ Geddes, "The Sociology of Autumn", *The Evergreen*, Autumn, p. 32.

When Geddes's work is viewed as small, separate areas of interest it loses the striking impact that it has when it is viewed as a total whole. Thus the house exchange plan viewed on its own does not resonate as it does when it is shown in the light of Geddes's views on the city and nature. Geddes's ideas on any one period of history do not ever come across as strongly as when they are showed through the Masque of Ancient Learning and its context. Geddes's actions and ideas need to be seen as part of whole, not divided up into sections, so that they may be seen in all their interconnected and dependant glory. When Geddes's schemes, plans, activities and ideas are viewed together they show a far more significant product than just town planning or just Ramsay Garden, though both of these may be significant in their own rights.

The fact that Geddes started out his activities in Edinburgh c.1887 and left Edinburgh c.1914 provide book-end dates for his stewardship of his projects there, but as was mentioned in reference to the Ramsay Garden murals c.1926,⁷⁶⁰ Geddes's absence from a project or a disciple was never final. After 1914 Geddes had merely moved his focus elsewhere, he had not forgotten about Edinburgh entirely. Perhaps it was the First World War that changed his focus from Edinburgh to wider parts of the world, as he wrote in *Dramatisations in History*, "the war put full stop to our Masquing, and decimated, desolated, scattered us, mostly beyond recall."⁷⁶¹

⁷⁶⁰ See Chapter 4, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁶¹ Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, p. ii.

However, it is Geddes's activities as a part of the Celtic Renaissance and during the existence of the Celtic Renaissance that are most germane to this topic. During the Celtic Renaissance, Geddes established the network of residence halls, created Ramsay Garden, brought *The Evergreen* to fruition, co-founded the Edinburgh Social Union, established his Summer School, created pageants and masques, worked to revive and reconstruct Old Town Edinburgh, created the Old Edinburgh School of Art, taught at University College, Dundee, was involved in the International Exhibition in Paris 1900, created Patrick Geddes and Colleagues Publishing Company, renovated the Outlook Tower into a sociological museum, and spoke and wrote on a number of topics. Also during this time Geddes looked into anarchy, socialism and fabianism, he encouraged Scots to revisit their heritage and think towards the future, and he established connections with Europe in an effort to further internationalism.

Understandably, many scholarly and biographical works on Geddes have focused on only certain aspects of his work. However, these concentrations have meant that the larger picture of Geddes has been lost. He is portrayed as a man of varied interests and sidelines, and yet when looked at as a whole, everything that Geddes created was for the common goal of improving lives. The art produced in the Celtic Renaissance, in the Old Edinburgh School of Art and by the Edinburgh Social Union was created to enhance the lives of its viewers, sometimes with an underlying purpose of inspiration, teaching or consolation. The same is true of Ramsay Garden, he created the colony of artists, writers, teachers and students to enhance their lives, and by doing so, reviving the Old Town of Edinburgh. Again this is true of University Hall, the benefit

of communal student living while resettling the Old Town. In this way Geddes proved that what benefited people could also bring benefit to their environment.

Geddes called cities “Centres of Life”⁷⁶² and saw in them the potential to re-educate and reinvigorate the latent artistic and cultural talents of their people. He blamed the “colossal rabbit-hutches”⁷⁶³ of city tenements for misery and ugliness that lower classes faced and that organisations such as Social Unions sought to remedy through “art schools, museums, lectures and every other means”.⁷⁶⁴ Once preservation and restoration of the city was established, Geddes thought, “our little centres of life will gradually spread outwards till they can co-operate. The fuller arousals of our fellow-citizens would thus follow”.⁷⁶⁵ Geddes sought this total involvement from all strata of society as he tried through every means possible to “bring all the resources of culture”⁷⁶⁶ to city dwellers.

Therefore, it is Geddes’s involvement that was one of the keys in bringing the Celtic Renaissance into its broadest possible fruition. The works of Sharp and Macleod may have been popular, and Duncan’s artwork may have been well received, but it was Geddes that was the leader, and it was he who brought their talents to work together for

⁷⁶² P. Geddes, “On National and Municipal Encouragement of Art Upon the Continent”, *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Meeting, 1889*, (London, 1890) p. 307.

⁷⁶³ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid. Geddes later tried to accomplish this same goal through town planning, beginning with *City Development: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust* 1903-4.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

the Celtic Renaissance. It was Geddes with his wider activities who was able to bring the Celtic Renaissance what it required to appeal to the public.

The Alternative University of Patrick Geddes

From his creation of the student residences c.1887, Geddes refined and developed his ideas of what purpose(s) the universities should serve. It was with the creation of Ramsay Garden that Geddes was able to fully implement his ideas and develop an alternative university for Edinburgh. When Geddes had applied for the Regius Professorship of Botany⁷⁶⁷ at Edinburgh University and was not chosen, it seems that began working in earnest to create an alternative. Despite his employment in 1892 as Professor of Botany at University College Dundee, Geddes pressed on with his ideas of an alternative university, perhaps once he was in the contemporary university system he saw how it constrained both teachers and pupils.

Within Ramsay Garden Geddes was able to develop his ideas on a large scale. The Summer Meetings which he had instigated in 1887 now had a permanent home within Ramsay Garden, which was decorated throughout with the murals Geddes had chosen to inform and inspire his students and colleagues. In 1892 Geddes developed the Old Edinburgh School of Art with John Duncan as Director. After that, in December 1893, He published *The New Evergreen*, and then in 1895 *The Evergreen: A Northern*

⁷⁶⁷ Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 56.

Seasonal, which coincided with the birth of Patrick Geddes and Colleagues Publishing Company.

Many of Geddes activities within Ramsay Garden were influenced by the University Extension movement. Geddes used the world around him as an extension of the classroom: the Summer Meetings included lectures, discussions and city walks, the Old Edinburgh School of Art trained a variety of people including craftsmen and novices (and which included women) in handicrafts and fine arts, also offered lectures on a variety of topics, and the publications of Geddes and Colleagues offered a chance to see their work in print and to stimulate intellectual discussion. When viewed in this light Ramsay Garden enjoyed all the intellectual, artistic and cultural activities that Geddes instigated in Edinburgh and the possibility for an entire alternative university education outside of the University of Edinburgh. Geddes was able to create a city within a city, but one which could reach out and extend all its benefits into the larger organism to benefit it.

Geddes considered each attendee of the Summer Meetings to be “an active collaborator in all that we are carrying on here”.⁷⁶⁸ Geddes thought that each student, whether in University Hall, the University Extension movement, the Summer Meetings or classes organised through the Edinburgh Social Union, the Old Edinburgh School of Art or Edinburgh University, would benefit most through teaching which encouraged

⁷⁶⁸ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 130, quoting from “‘The Edinburgh Summer Meeting’, Prospectus, 1895.”

generalism. He wrote “an organic and idealist Monism is begun. The studies of sun and stars, of rock and flower, of beast and man, of race and destiny are becoming once more a single discipline”.⁷⁶⁹ It was this desire for generalism which informed his choices for his alternative university in Edinburgh. The Summer Meetings, where amateurs and experts mixed in a variety of activities on the arts and sciences, are an excellent example of this. The Old Edinburgh School of Art, where Celtic ornament was stressed, does not show generalism in the same way. However, the existence of the School of Art as part of Geddes’s alternative university does indicate generalism and a wish to educate and inform. For Geddes, education was of paramount importance, his every project worked towards it, his every relationship was characterised by it, and in the creation of an alternative university system as part of his cultural regeneration of Old Town Edinburgh was the early height of this dream, which would later be realised in full in his Scots College in Montpellier, France in the 1920s.

Scottish Connections and Divisions

The Celtic Renaissance brought together many of the components that were popular in 1890s movements. It had art and literature, links to a time of bygone simplicity and nobility, all tailored to suit the *fin de siècle* audience. The fact that the Scottish movements did not strive to achieve critical mass could be a common defining characteristic rather than a detrimental aspect. They did not achieve popular support *en masse* and so did not significantly change the way Scotland was viewed from either

⁷⁶⁹ Geddes, “The Sociology of Autumn”, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, Autumn, 1896, p. 29.

inside or abroad, and yet all the artistic and cultural movements of *fin de siècle* became part of Scotland's artistic and cultural history separately. This is a success in itself.

Geddes, like some others, eschewed political ties as much as possible. Geddes would rather wait and build up his work within the Celtic Renaissance until he could “see the members of the home rule association furthering Scottish literature [...] and] the Scottish Universities [,] Scottish Art, Scottish industries [,] to a very greater [sic] extent before I could join them.”⁷⁷⁰ It was this lack of political connection in most of the Scottish movements that had also further separated them from the Irish movements.⁷⁷¹

There may have been many reasons why the groups in Scotland in the *fin de siècle* did not band together to form a single movement which could have gained international recognition. The fact that many of the groups had strong leaders with individual visions could have divided them. John Duncan Fergusson suggested that it was the Scottish heritage of a desire for liberty and independence that separated the groups.⁷⁷² This idea has merit, though it does not account for the interconnections between participants of different groups. Perhaps it was the leaders, the ones with vision, that had a need for independent thought and identity of idea, the Francis Newberys, Patrick Geddeses and Charles Rennie Mackintoshes, who were unable to subscribe to another's dominance of ideology. If that is true, then it explains how those

⁷⁷⁰ NLS MSS 10508A, letter from Geddes to Mr Campbell (possibly J.A.G. Campbell of Barbeck), dated 1 November 1895.

⁷⁷¹ As seen in the situation that arose with George Russell (Æ) and Fiona Macleod, see Chapter 5, p.177-182.

⁷⁷² J. Fergusson, *Modern Scottish Painting*, (Glasgow, 1943) chapters “Art and Nationality” and “The Glasgow School.”

under them could be participants in more than one group while their leaders remained firm about their own vision.

There is also the matter of professional competition and infighting. There is very little relating to infighting in the secondary sources on *fin de siècle* Scotland. However, as an example, John Duncan and Robert Burns may have had a strained relationship within the Celtic Renaissance. Duncan wrote to Geddes that Burns “has the reputation of being an awful liar and [he] may be humbugging me”⁷⁷³ in regard to Duncan seeking a job at Rowand Anderson’s School of Applied Art in Edinburgh. Though the two men ended up working together later at the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh, it is entirely possible that they suffered strained relations at this time due to professional competition, jealousy or personal differences.

The Celtic Renaissance has been historically overshadowed by Geddes’s variety of other activities, so that what made it stronger during its life also made it weaker in history. As C.M. Grieve (1892-1978, also known as Hugh MacDairmid) wrote in an article from his vantage point of the Scottish Renaissance (c.1922), the Celtic Renaissance through *The Evergreen*,

while the organ of a band of social reformers in one of the poorest quarters of the Edinburgh, it also touched an international note, and kept of the spirit of the best ideals in literature and art.

⁷⁷³ SUA T-GED 9/2030, letter from Duncan to Geddes, c. 1899.

Naturally, this being so, it speedily became defunct, and the movement of which it was the organ scarcely outlasted it.⁷⁷⁴

Grieve concluded his article by saying that the Celtic Renaissance, and particularly the literary area of Sharp and Macleod, “proved to be a promise that could not be kept”,⁷⁷⁵ and yet Grieve himself must have been inspired by what he considered to be the group’s failed promise.

A connection shared by many of the people and groups (formal and informal) active in Scotland in the *fin de siècle* was the overriding influence of Celticism. This is shown in the Glasgow Boys through the works of George Henry and E.A. Hornel, particularly in the painting *The Druids: Bringing Home the Mistletoe* (1890) (Figure 33), as well as in some aspects of their individual works. It’s also evident in the works of The Four, particularly the stylised design work of Margaret and Frances Macdonald. John Morrison credited Glasgow with the instigation of the Celtic Revivalism in Scotland, especially in Henry and Hornel’s *The Druids*. In Morrison’s view that Henry and Hornel were “the vanguard of the Celtic Revival movement”.⁷⁷⁶ The Celtic Renaissance did not, of course, have a monopoly on Celticism. With *The Druids* Henry and Hornel were developing ideas influenced by Celticism, they picked up on the

⁷⁷⁴ C. M. Grieve, “editor’s ‘Causerie’”, *Scottish Chapbook*, August 1922 pp.3-4, in M. McCulloch (ed.), *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland 1918-1939*, (Glasgow, 2004) p. 52.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁶ J. Morrison, “Nationalism and Nationhood: Late-Nineteenth-Century Painting in Scotland”, in M. Facos and S. Hirsh (eds.), *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, (Cambridge, 2003) p. 198. This idea is also expressed almost exactly the same in J. Morrison’s *Painting the Nation*, (Edinburgh, 2003) pp. 192-194.

current resurgence of Celtic identity, something that was and would be expanded upon by other artists, particularly John Duncan. It's little wonder that Celtic designs and motifs made their way into many of the 1890s art and cultural groups. Though it is noteworthy that the revival of Celticism featured both modern and antiquarian takes on the subject matter, and that the idea of Celticism was pervasive, seeping into religion, music, and folklore as well as art, literature and culture.

When Geddes brought together diverse individuals for *The Evergreen*, he brought their diverse ideas as well. He created a publication that married science and folklore, and nationalism and internationalism. This perhaps was the greater triumph of his work. The contributors did not have to work together to have their submissions accepted into a volume of *The Evergreen*, but it was Geddes's great gift to the reader that they were offered as one volume, as one entity. The reader could then make connections and associations on their own, perhaps exercising the idea of the interconnections between contributors in their mind.

Though it was not through *The Evergreen*, Geddes had contact with both Francis Newbery and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928). Geddes and Newbery collaborated on their early pageants. Their early efforts, though headed separately, with no connection to one another, were "comparable"⁷⁷⁷ in scope and content. Both Newbery and Geddes were interested in the applied arts, particularly murals, and this

⁷⁷⁷ J. Kinchin, "Art and History into Life: Pageantry Revived in Scotland", *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 1997, p. 43.

may have influenced their interest in pageants and the subjects they chose to celebrate in their pageants.⁷⁷⁸ They aided each other in later pageants as well, occasionally shared participants and costumes, often leading to cross-pollination between their groups as this led to interaction and camaraderie.

Geddes's motivation behind creating pageants such as the Masque of Ancient Learning (in Edinburgh and London, started c. 1912-1913) was "to present a historic Pageant of characteristic scenes illustrative of the progress of culture, and of the history of education- each in the widest sense"⁷⁷⁹ for viewers of all classes and all backgrounds. Pageants provided Geddes his largest audience, an audience he may have never otherwise reached. The same can be said of Newbery's pageants in Glasgow. The audiences did not have to subscribe to the ideology behind the pageantry, they could just enjoy the celebratory atmosphere and beautiful costumes. In the case of Geddes's Masque of Ancient Learning, however, many people did want to know the reasoning behind the spectacle. The book written to accompany the masque, titled *The Masque of Ancient Learning* was republished several times, and a new extended version was reprinted in 1923, illustrating the public's on-going interest in Geddes's masques.

Geddes's overriding message in his pageants was opening societies to internationalism and widening specialisations into broader learning. He wrote that "this

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

⁷⁷⁹ Geddes, *Dramatisations of History*, p. vii.

pageant of many cultures” should prove that “he may learn best who also learns something about everything, and to whom, as of old, nothing human is every foreign.”⁷⁸⁰

Geddes’s contact with Mackintosh developed later, possibly thorough the attendance of Mackintosh and his wife Margaret Macdonald at Geddes events in Edinburgh,⁷⁸¹ most likely because the two men met through the Newberys,⁷⁸² though they definitely developed a relationship at Geddes’s Summer Meeting in London in 1915. The 1915 London Summer Meeting was devoted to the discussion of rebuilding Europe after the First World War, a bit of pre-emptive planning by the minds of the day.⁷⁸³ Mackintosh and Geddes worked together to design a war memorial c.1915-1916.⁷⁸⁴ Duncan also had contact with Newbery and Mackintosh. Duncan was “asked to become one of the original twenty members”⁷⁸⁵ of the Arts and Crafts Society in Glasgow, formed around May 1898.⁷⁸⁶ Both Newbery and Mackintosh were also founding members of the Society. Duncan became friendly with the Mackintoshes,⁷⁸⁷ and it is probable he was friendly with Newbery as well.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 189.

⁷⁸¹ SUA T-GED 9/2175, letter from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Anna Geddes, n.d., c.1911-1914. Macdonald wrote that “We saw that Mr Geddes was giving a course of lectures at the Outlook Tower-[w]ould that we had someone like him here”, however she does not say if they had ever attended a Geddes lecture.

⁷⁸² H. Ferguson, *The Glasgow School of Art: The History*, (Glasgow, 1995) p. 49. Ferguson also cites Newbery’s daughter, Mrs Mary Sturrock, as recalling Geddes was an occasional dinner guest of the Newberys (Ibid).

⁷⁸³ SUA T-GED 3/12/18, the syllabus and time-table of the Summer Meeting, 12-31 July 1915.

⁷⁸⁴ The drawings for the proposed memorial are kept in the SUA.

⁷⁸⁵ NLS MSS 10530, Letter from Duncan to Geddes, dated 5 May 1898.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., places the date of the formation of the Society about this time.

⁷⁸⁷ SUA T-GED 9/2175, letter from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Anna Geddes, n.d., c. 19.11-1914. Macdonald wrote “I went to see the John Duncans when I was last in Edinburgh.”

A further crossing point between Glasgow and Edinburgh happened in Kirkcudbright. From the late 1880s Kirkcudbright had been “one of the favoured painting grounds of several of the [Glasgow] Boys.”⁷⁸⁸ The Glasgow Boys used Kirkcudbright as a base and a place of inspiration up until the end of the century, by which time they had moved on, and in the opinion of some, their “original inspiration and vitality had run out.”⁷⁸⁹

Some of the artists in the Celtic Renaissance lived and worked in Kirkcudbright, at least briefly, at a time when they may have had contact with the Glasgow Boys. Both John Duncan and Charles Mackie lived there (at least off and on) from c.1893 to c.1896.⁷⁹⁰ It is likely that the Glasgow Boys, whomever of them may have been resident in Kirkcudbright at the same time as Duncan and Mackie, may have influenced their work in some way. If, though unlikely, Duncan and Mackie had little or no contact with artists in the Kirkcudbright area 1893-1896, they were more than likely still influenced by the community, the landscape, and the artistic heritage of the area.

The crossover of the different Scottish artistic and cultural movement was thus greater than it appears at first glance. Those working in the Celtic Renaissance had links to other movements at the same time, as would be expected. They influenced, and were

⁷⁸⁸ Bourne (ed.), *Kirkcudbright: 100 Years of an Artists' Colony*, p. 30.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁷⁹⁰ Letters from SUA T-GED 9/76-9/78 Charles Mackie to Geddes October 1893, SUA T-GED 9/170 John Duncan to John Ross 15/7/96, SUA T-GED 9/91 Mackie to Geddes 16/7/94, SUA T-GED 9/137-9/138 John Duncan to Geddes July 1895, NLS MSS 10527 Duncan to Geddes 4/11/95, SUA T-GED 9/170 Duncan to Ross 15/7/96, all this correspondence shows both Mackie and Duncan living in Kirkcudbright from 1893-1896.

influenced by, their contemporaries in Scotland as well as throughout Britain and Europe. Their commonalities and shared influences, geographical, historical and cultural, must beg the question why the artistic movements of *fin de siècle* Scotland did not simply unite under a common name and use this to propel their artists, writers and culture-workers to greater international acclaim.

It is difficult to gauge why the separations existed between Scottish artistic movements at the *fin de siècle*, since they had closer connections than heretofore thought. Perhaps some explanation can be found in their contact. The artistic and cultural groups of the 1890s had a certain fluidity about their relationships, hence once one was defined as a Glasgow Boy or a Kailyard novelist it was still possible to work on projects outside that particular group, as some worked on *The Evergreen*.

The notable divide between Edinburgh and Glasgow may have played a role in the separation of artistic and cultural groups. Glasgow artists had a difficult time getting the respect of the Royal Scottish Academy, and felt slighted by their exclusion.⁷⁹¹ Celtic Renaissance artists in Edinburgh, such as Duncan and Burns, had similar problems with the R.S.A., though later in the 1910s and 1920s they were admitted and respected. Geddes and Newbery had a friendly relationship. So it was not as though the leaders/mentors of the groups had difficulties with the interaction of their followers and/or students. They encouraged their groups towards interaction in their masques.

⁷⁹¹ See Chapter 2, pp. 47-49.

Both Duncan and Macgillivray straddled the Edinburgh/Glasgow divide amicably, Duncan became part of the Arts and Crafts Society of Glasgow, and Macgillivray moved on from living in Glasgow to living in Edinburgh and maintained his artistic friendships in both cities. Geddes also seemed uninfluenced by the purported Glasgow/Edinburgh divide, with his comments about including the Glasgow School of Art into “our artistic movement”.⁷⁹² This kind of inclusion speaks to his overriding generalism and internationalism (even in his home city).

Perhaps what Geddes had instigated as the Celtic Renaissance was really a continuation of the movement begun in the 1760s through Macpherson’s *The Poems of Ossian*. Rather than taking the general view of history, which Geddes thought incorporated beaten and retreating races “leaving their traces in melancholy music, in funeral stones, and in aged folk dropping away one by one”,⁷⁹³ Geddes considered “the Celtic revival of the last century distinct in ‘Ossian’ and latent in Burns and Scott [...] gradually giving way to the new Celtic wave”,⁷⁹⁴ the Celtic Renaissance. This shows Geddes thought of the Celtic Renaissance as both a cultural continuation of the 1760s and as separate from the traditional view of Scottish history, which he felt concentrated on the lack “of tradition of conquest, [...] the hunters went forth to fight and always fell.”⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² SUA T-GED 5/2/9, Geddes’s notes for a Lecture at the Celtic Society, 22 October 1897.

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

Patrick Geddes and the Arts and Crafts Movement

Geddes was thoroughly a modernist, though with a great respect for the past, and William Morris was not completely an antiquarian, however he was very close. Geddes and Morris differed not only on antiquarian issues, but also on issues central to Arts and Crafts philosophy. Their differences were highlighted by the 1889 Edinburgh Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry. The speeches of Geddes and Morris from the Edinburgh Congress differed on a few key points which would later become issues Geddes held dear. Both men extolled the virtues of ornament. Morris did so on the basis that ornament satisfied the workman's/creator's longing "for some exercise of his intellect".⁷⁹⁶ He held that the addition of ornament to everyday objects added both beauty to the object and pleasure (as well as intellectual exercise) to the task of creating the object. Morris's focus for most of his speech rested on the addition of applied art methods to architecture, interiors, furniture, home objects as a way of enhancing their beauty and the joy of the work in their creation. Geddes, although he also realised the possibilities of applied art to these areas, instead concentrated his speech on the public encouragement of art. His speech was entitled "On National and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent", in which instead of pointing out the obvious triumphs in this area he concentrated on what Britain could learn from the mistakes made in Europe. He railed against the exchange of the "new official ugliness for [the] old and historic beauty", most particularly in France, and he wondered how it was that this led to "promoting

⁷⁹⁶ William Morris, "Section of Applied Art: The Presidential Address", from *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry: Edinburgh Meeting MDCCCLXXIX*, (London, 1890) p. 189.

general poverty and depression, and even also political disorder and unrest, instead of the health and wealth, peace and prosperity, which were not only hoped for but aimed at.”⁷⁹⁷

Morris’s speech mentioned several times the influence of the Middle Ages and the purity and nobility to be found there which was not found in contemporary life.⁷⁹⁸ Morris did not labour the point in his speech, though he had often done so in other of his speeches and written work, such as the lecture he gave called “The Hopes of Civilization” in 1885.⁷⁹⁹ He spoke of how he liked to imagine “the face of mediaeval England”⁸⁰⁰ and what everyday life then would have entailed. He spoke particularly of how he saw the breakdown of nobility in craftsmanship even as early as the 1600s when “division of labour even at that period had quite destroyed his [the craftsman’s] individuality, and the worker was but part of a machine.”⁸⁰¹ Indeed, by the Edinburgh Congress in 1889 attendees were likely familiar with his ideas on the subject already.

⁷⁹⁷ Geddes, “On National and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent”, *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry: Edinburgh Meeting MDCCCLXXIX*, (London, 1890) p. 300. These ideas seem related to things he would later hear from Prince Peter Kropotkin and Elisée and Elie Reclus, though there is not concrete basis that they influenced the text of this speech.

⁷⁹⁸ Morris, “Section of Applied Art: The Presidential Address”, from *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry: Edinburgh Meeting MDCCCLXXIX*, (London, 1890) pp. 195, 197, 199.

⁷⁹⁹ The speech was given in 1885 to the Socialist League, Hammersmith Branch, and published originally in *Signs of Change* in 1888.

⁸⁰⁰ W. Morris, *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*, (London, 1998) p. 311.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

Although Geddes saw the appeal and influence of Middle Ages, he was not of a mind to return to them as a golden age. The effect of the deterioration of Old Town Edinburgh on Geddes was immeasurable. Where Morris's speech concentrated on the beauty, purity, nature and nobility of and in art, Geddes lobbied for "Centres of Life".⁸⁰² He spoke out for a need for the "reformation of the dwellings of the working classes, whose present artistic ineptitude we are now taking such pains to remove by art schools, museums, lectures and every other means, except the primary one",⁸⁰³ which he explained to be "improving that general sum of their impressions (especially during their hours of receptivity and leisure)",⁸⁰⁴ the home. "[W]e shall not get art", he said, "by piling up colossal rabbit-hutches"⁸⁰⁵, and those rabbit-hutch tenement cities may possibly be avoided, if art begins in the home.

This was the type of issue, when dealt with in Geddes's inimitable way, which separated his ideas from those of Morris. Geddes was greatly influenced by Morris's work and the Celtic Renaissance would not have existed without the Arts and Crafts movement. However, the Edinburgh Congress can be seen as a defining moment for Geddes, it identified his differences with Morris, and with the Arts and Crafts movement ideology. Though he saw the wonders of tradition, Geddes was not to be stuck in the

⁸⁰² Patrick Geddes, "On National and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent", *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and Its Application to Industry: Edinburgh Meeting MDCCCLXXIX*, (London, 1890) p. 307.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid. This theme of flats and tenements is one that Geddes returns to time and again, as in Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, (New York, 1971) p. 134, where he describes Scottish tenement flats as "coops and hutches [...] piled storey above storey."

quagmire of antiquarianism. He continued on the path to modernism influenced by tradition.

Had the Celtic Renaissance lasted longer it may have perhaps found its spiritual home in the Pan-Celtic movement which developed in the post-First World War world. Unlike Geddes, who embraced Pan-Celticism and advocated a resurgence in Celtic dress, art, literature and song at the third Pan-Celtic Congress in 1907,⁸⁰⁶ Neil Munro found Pan-Celticism a bit confusing. Munro said he would happily visit some of the other Celtic areas and countries if he spoke their languages or had an interest in their culture.⁸⁰⁷ He pointed out the greater similarities in the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland, that they were but “sea-divided Gaels”,⁸⁰⁸ with only the miles of the Irish Channel separating them. However, Munro concentrated on their similarities as Gaels their Gaelic languages, rather than what he thought was an artificial bond of Pan-Celticism. This is supported by Munro’s contribution to the volume *Voices from the Hills (Guthan o na Beanntaibh): A Memento of the Gaelic Rally* (1927), for this was a Gael publication, not a Celtic one.⁸⁰⁹

The Celtic Renaissance has traditionally been denied its place of importance in Scottish cultural history due to its short lifespan and its lack of popular support.

⁸⁰⁶ SUA T-GED 4/10/10, *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1907.

⁸⁰⁷ N. Munro, “The Sea-Divided Gael: Blessings on those who help themselves”, Newspaper article, 27 September 1927, provenance unknown. My thanks to Lesley Lendrum for bringing this to my attention.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ J. MacDonald, ed., *Voices from the Hills (Guthan o na Beanntaibh): A Memento of the Gaelic Rally*, (Glasgow, 1927). Fellow contributors to this volume included John Duncan, Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Marjory Kennedy-Fraser and Compton Mackenzie.

However, when viewed in its context of the *fin de siècle* movements of Scotland it seems a different movement altogether. Some standout talents did receive international recognition, like Mackintosh and the Four, the Glasgow Boys and Patrick Geddes himself. Because the movements did not attain the sort of critical mass that was achieved elsewhere, and instead separated themselves from each other, they have usually been viewed as marginal or unsuccessful. However their separation was a triumph of uncompromising vision from the group leaders and participants, for *fin de siècle* Scotland offered choices in its recognition of cultural heritage and identity. This recalls literary historian Douglas Gifford's comments on the crisis of literary identity found in 1890s Scotland.⁸¹⁰ Perhaps this indicated, rather than a crisis, the expression of the multifaceted nature of Scotland and the Scots. By not compromising on their ideas of identity and culture they were able to preserve more and express more of the cultural identities of the time.

In conclusion, the Celtic Renaissance was not a revival. It did not satisfy the criteria of revival set out by historians of cultural nationalism. However, it was also not inconsequential as it may have been judged at the time.⁸¹¹ The connections of the Celtic Renaissance to the other *fin de siècle* Scottish movements shows a great degree of commonality and shared perspective separated by differences in expression. It also places the Celtic Renaissance in a larger whole, that of 1890s Scotland. The Celtic Renaissance did not achieve popular support on its own, however, through its

⁸¹⁰ Gifford, *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 3 Nineteenth Century*, (Aberdeen, 1989) p. 9. See Chapter 5, pp. 169-170.

⁸¹¹ See Chapter 4.

connections to the other Scottish cultural movements of the *fin de siècle* it will never be ignored. The separation of the Celtic Renaissance from the contemporary Gael movements by Geddes shows an understanding and a forethought that was underestimated at the time, particularly by Neil Munro. The modern historical analysis of the Celtic Renaissance by historians had contributed significantly to the fragmentation of its artistic and cultural agenda and successes.

Conclusion

Initially, in the planning stages of this thesis, its intention had been to prove that the Celtic Renaissance was a Celtic Revival and that it fit into known models of cultural nationalism, such as those constructed by Hobsbawm, Hroch, Smith, and Hutchinson. However, as research on the thesis progressed this was shown to be an erroneous assumption and therefore necessitated a complete review of that which was the Celtic Renaissance.

It is difficult to definitively judge whether or not the Celtic Renaissance should be judged as part of the Arts and Crafts movement. Patrick Geddes was profoundly influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, particularly as shown in his founding of and involvement with the Edinburgh Social Union. However, Geddes and Morris had many ideological differences, differences which make it very difficult to reconcile their two disparate opinions into one movement. Perhaps the closest comparison is that of Germany, the Germans were enthusiastic about the Arts and Crafts movement until they realised that their paths must diverge, and after that split the remaining movement in Germany had little to do with Arts and Crafts movement which Morris had championed. The circumstances of the Celtic Renaissance were far less dramatic in their differences, however the outcome remained the same, there was a divergence of opinion and the result was significantly different than the Arts and Crafts movement as envisioned by Morris.

Though Geddes had been accused by some of abandoning certain projects, this seems to be a misunderstanding. Geddes's main focus was to improve urban life, whether than be in Edinburgh, Dunfermline or Bombay, and each project he used was in facilitation of that one objective. Because the Celtic Renaissance involved more art than any of his subsequent projects it has occasionally been relegated to a lower place of importance in the Geddes story. However, the Celtic Renaissance was an integral step for Geddes, one which affected his later projects dramatically. Through the Celtic Renaissance Geddes was able to utilise a trial and error approach which would have been extremely difficult to use in his later work.

The Celtic Renaissance was a significant movement for many of those involved. John Duncan's later work stayed true to Geddes's original ideals of the movement, focussing on the Celtic influences on Scottish life. Duncan never strayed from the path he constructed with his Guru. Fiona Macleod's work remained popular for decades after the last issue of *The Evergreen* was published. Her work also provided a valuable foil for those who wished to provide Scotland with a less mystical, more grounded literature, such as Neil Munro and C.M. Grieve.

The Celtic Renaissance remains one of Patrick Geddes's most fascinating projects and is mentioned in virtually any work which mentions Geddes. This is a proud legacy to have created.

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Appendix A

List of Contributors to *The New Evergreen*, December 1894

Name	Type of Contribution
Amour, Margaret	Poem
Branford, Victor V.	Introductory essay, Closing essay
Burn-Murdoch, W.G.	Drawing
Cadenhead, James	Drawing
Duncan, John	Drawing, Poem
Fisher, W.E. Garrett	Poem
Henderson, J.J.	Poem
Laubach, C.H.	Poem
Macdonald, William	Introductory essay, Poem
Macdougall, William Brown	Drawing
Nisbett, Hamilton More	Drawing (with commentary)
Smith, William	Drawing
Setoun, Gabriel	Poem
Thomson, J. Arthur	Scientific article
Weirter, Louis	Drawing

Appendix B

List of Contributors to *The Evergreen*

Name	Issue(s)	Nationality	Contribution Type	Number of Contributions Total	<i>New Evergreen</i> Contributor ?	<i>Lyra Celtica</i> Contributor?
Armour, Margaret	Autumn	? (Scottish?)	Poem	1	Yes	No
Baildon, H. Bellyse	Summer	Scottish	Poem	1	No	No
Balfour, M.C.	Winter	English	Fiction	1	No	No
Baxter, Nellie	Winter	Scottish	Drawings	?	No	No
Branford, Victor V.	Sp, Au	Scottish	Scientific articles	2	Yes	No
Brough, Robert	Summer	Scottish	Drawings	1	No	No
Burn-Murdoch, W.G.	Sp, Su, W	Scottish	Drawings, Fiction	3	Yes	No
Burns, Robert	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Drawings	7	No	No
Cadenhead, James	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Drawings	6	Yes	No
Carmichael, Alexander	Spring	Scottish	History article	1	No	No
Christie, Nimmo	Winter	?	Poem	1	No	No
Crocket, S.R.	Autumn	Scottish	Poem	1	No	No
Cuthbertson, William	Winter	Scottish	Poem	1	No	No
Desjardins, Paul	Winter	French	Article in French	1	No	No
Douglas, George	Au, Su, W	?	Poem	3	No	No
Duncan, John	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Drawings, Poetry	9	Yes	No
Eyre-Todd, George	Summer	Scottish	Fiction	1	No	No
Geddes, Patrick	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Science articles, Articles of interest	8	No	No
Geddie, John	Spring	Scottish	Poem	1	No	No
Graves, Alfred Percival	Summer	Irish	Poem	1	No	Yes
Gray, Alice	Spring	Scottish	Head and Tail Pieces	?	No	No
Hay, Helen	Sp, Au, Su	Scottish	Drawings	3	No	No
Hay, Jane	Summer	?	Article	1	No	No
Henderson, J.J.	Spring	?	Fiction	1	Yes	No
Herbertson, A.J.	Spring	English	Article	1	No	No
Herbertson, Dorothy	Spring	?	Article	1	No	No
Hopper, Nora	Su, W	English	Poem	2	No	Yes
Hornel, A.E.	Au	Scottish	Drawings	1	No	No
Hyde, Douglas	Su, W	Irish	Poem, Fiction	2	No	Yes
Janvier, Catherine A.	W	American	Fiction	1	No	No
Klein, Abbé Felix	Au, Su	French	Article in French	2	No	No
Koster, Edward B.	W	Dutch	Article	1	No	No
Laubach, Hugh/Hugo	Sp, Au, W	?	Poem	4	Yes (as C.H. Laubach)	No
Macdonald, William	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Articles, Poems	8	Yes	Yes
MacFie, Ronald Campbell	Au	Scottish	Poem	1	No	Yes

Name	Issue(s)	Nationality	Contribution Type	Number of Contributions Total	<i>New Evergreen Contributor ?</i>	<i>Lyra Celtica Contributor ?</i>
Macgillivray, J. Pittendrigh	Sp, Au	Scottish	Drawings, Poem	4	No	No
Mackie, Anne		Scottish	Drawings	?	No	No
Mackie, Charles	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Drawings	7	No	No
Macleay, John	Au, Su	Scottish	Article, Fiction	2	No	No
Macleod, Fiona (pseudonym of William Sharp)	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Fiction, Poems	9	No	Yes
Mason, Marion		Scottish	Head and Tail Pieces		No	No
Matheson, Sarah Robertson	Winter	Scottish	Poem	1	No	Yes
Mulholland, Rosa	Au, Su, W	Irish	Poetry	3	No	Yes
O'Grady, Standish	Winter	Irish	Story	1	No	No
Paton, Sir Noël	Autumn	Scottish	Poetry	2	No	Yes
Pearce, J.H.	Winter	?	Story	1	No	No
Ramsay, Effie	Winter	?	Head and Tail Pieces	?	No	No
Reclus, Elie	Winter	French	Article in French	1	No	No
Reclus, Elisee	Autumn	French	Article in French	1	No	No
Rinder, Edith Wingate	Au, W	English	Breton Legends	3	No	No
Robertson, W. J.	Su, W	?	Poem	2	No	No
Sarolea, Charles	Spring	French	Article in French	1	No	No
Serusier, Paul	Spring	French	Drawings	1	No	No
Setoun, Gabriel	Spring	French	Poem	2	Yes	No
Sharp, Elizabeth A.	Winter	Scottish	Fiction	1	No	No
Sharp, William	Sp, Au, Su	Scottish	Poems	4	No	No
Sinclair, Alexander Garden	Au, W	Scottish	Drawings	2	No	No
Smith, William	Spring	Scottish	Head and Tail Pieces	?	Yes	No
Stephens, Riccardo	Spring	English	Poem	1	No	Yes
Thomson, J. Arthur	Sp, Au, Su, W	Scottish	Articles	6	Yes	No
Thompson, Margaret (Janvier)	Winter	American	Legend	1	No	No
Tynan, Katherine	Winter	English	Story	1	No	Yes
Vita	Summer	?	Poem	1	No	No
Walls, William	Spring	Scottish	Drawings	1	No	No
Womrath, Andrew K.	Su, W	?	Drawings	4	No	No

Appendix C: Images: Tables

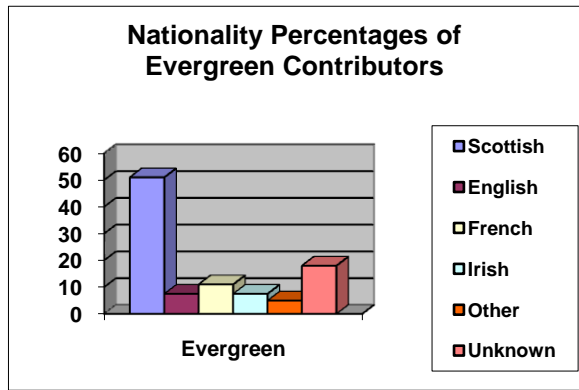


Table 1

Evergreen Content

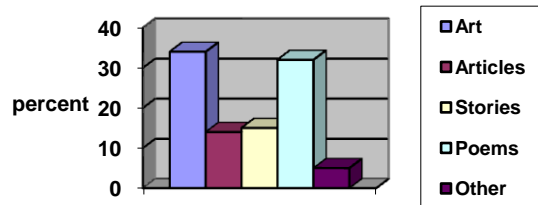
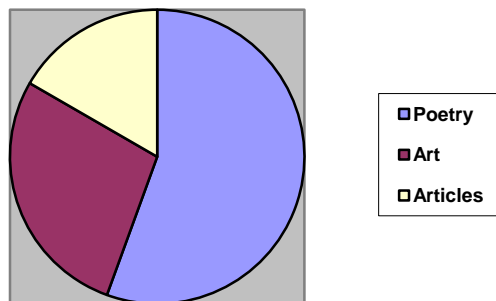


Table 2

Table 3: The Composition of *The New Evergreen*

Photographs: Figures 1-34

Figure 1, author's own photograph

In the middle is Allan Ramsay's original goose-pie house. The contrast between Mitchell's red sandstone and Capper's white harling is quite striking and adds depth to Ramsay Garden's function as a home to so many of Geddes's various projects.



Figure 2, 3 and 4, author's own photographs

Above is one of the rooms of Geddes's flat in Ramsay Garden. The decorative beams in the overhang seem either Celtic or perhaps Nordic in influence. These are similar to the dragons at the entrance to Wardrop's Court (see Figure 34), another part of Geddes's work in the Old Town, and just a short walk down from Ramsay Garden.





Figure 5, Well Court, Dean Village, Edinburgh, author's own photograph, with thanks to Charles McKean.

Well Court incorporates the heavy look of the Scots Baronial style. Designed as a sort of modern village for workers, Well Court seemed to espouse the ideal of Arts and Crafts workers living-quarters.



Figure 6, Well Court, Dean Village, Edinburgh, author's own photograph,
with thanks to Charles McKean

Well Court as viewed from inside its close shows medieval influences, another possible reason why Geddes chose Mitchell as the architect for Ramsay Garden, as Geddes was heavily influenced by medievalism.



Figure 7, author's own photograph, with thanks to the Mansfield Traquair Trust.

This photograph shows Phoebe Traquair's work in the Catholic Apostolic Church at Mansfield Place. The church was designed by Robert Rowand Anderson in 1872, the decorative murals were painted by Traquair in stages from 1893-1901. Traquair's murals seem more vibrant than those of John Duncan (Figures 12, 17-30), the colours are richer (or perhaps have just held up better), and the style seems more confident. Notice the animal eating the leaves on the left which seems heavily influenced by the *Book of Kells*.



Figure 8, author's own photograph, with thanks to the Mansfield Traquair Trust.

With such a talented artist as Traquair creating works such as the above at around the same time that Duncan is working on the Common Room murals, it is difficult to see why Geddes would choose Duncan for the job. Fine though Duncan's murals are, Traquair is by far a better muralist, there is a delicacy to her work that Duncan had not yet grasped in his own. Therefore, Geddes did not choose the better mural painter, and he probably knew this at the time. This means he had other criteria when looking for artists, possibly criteria to do with their willingness to accept his guidance.



Figure 9, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Duncan's mural featuring Michael Scot, dated in the corner 1895. The mural features Aristotle leaning over Scot's shoulder and Medieval Paris is in the background. Geddes was most likely drawn to Scot not only because of his intellectual accomplishments, but his reputation as a wizard as well. Scot's work, which included "astrology, alchemy, and the occult sciences," also included "sex and reproduction".⁸¹² This could have drawn in Geddes as well, he had co-written the book *The Evolution of Sex* with J. Arthur Thomson in the 1890s. Perhaps, though, the defining draw of Scot was the fact that he had "suffered as a scientific man before his time",⁸¹³ his reputation as a heretic and wizard had caused Dante to feature him in his *Inferno* and effected his relationships and reputation with his fellow scholars. Geddes may have felt the kinship as a man who had also arrived before his time.

⁸¹² Patrick Geddes, *Interpretations of the Paintings in the Lounge of Ramsay Garden*, published by Lloyds and Scottish Staff College, n.d., section IV.

⁸¹³ Ibid.



Figure 10, author's photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ornamental borderwork in Celtic designs once linked the murals in Common Room of Ramsay Garden. The detail shown here illustrated how precise and labour intensive it was to construct such a work. When the colours and style are compared to that of Phoebe Traquair's murals at the (now) Mansfield Traquair Centre, this looks like the work of an artist finding his feet in mural work.

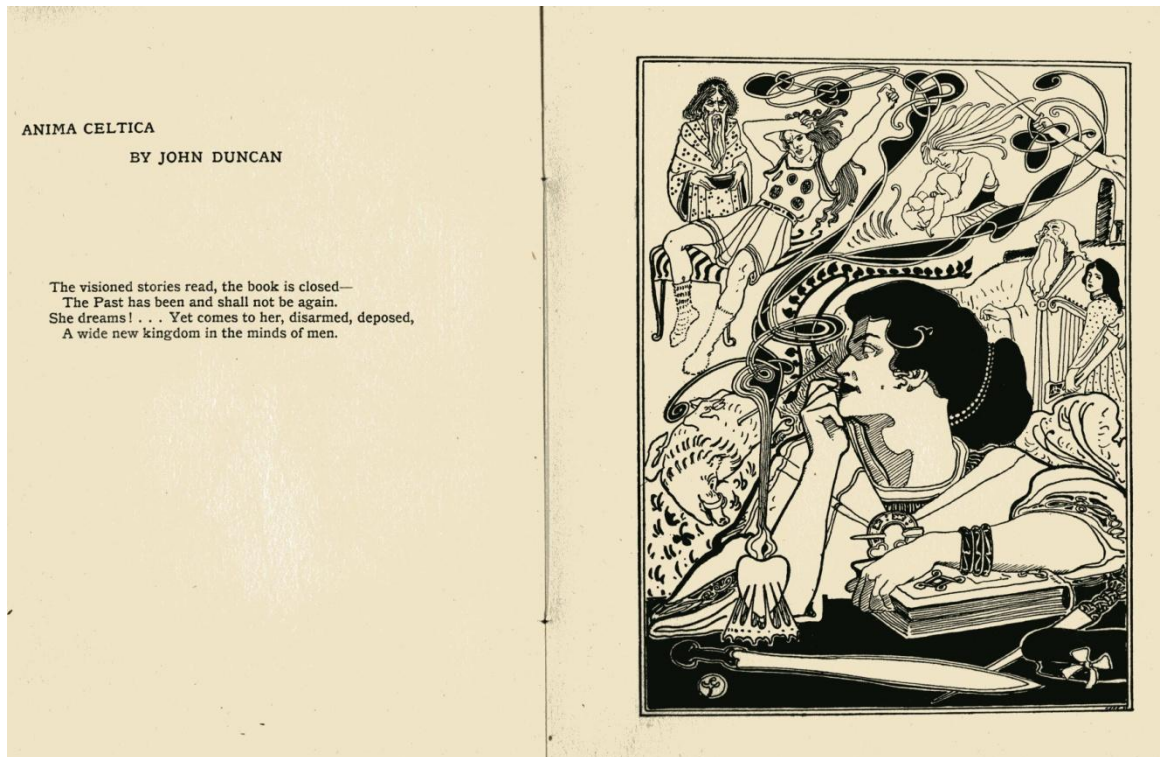


Figure 11, thanks to the University of Dundee Archives

Anima Celtica from the Spring 1895 volume of *The Evergreen* showed “Mr Duncan sinning again”,⁸¹⁴ according to some who found the picture not to be a “visual manifesto”⁸¹⁵ but rather the portrait of someone who “suffered from a particularly horrible goitre.”⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁴ SUA T-GED 8/1/1, *The Evergreen* Cuttings book, *The Literary World* (London), 4 June 1895.

⁸¹⁵ M. Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000) p.155.

⁸¹⁶ SUA T-GED 8/1/1, *The Irish Independent*, 3 June 1895.



Figure 12, author's own photograph, thanks to Michael Shea.

The above mural by John Duncan is called *The Awakening of Cuchullin*, inscribed below with the legend "So It Shall Be." This mural hangs over the entrance (now closed off) to the Allan Ramsay's former house, the goosepie, which housed students in Geddes's original layout of Ramsay Garden.

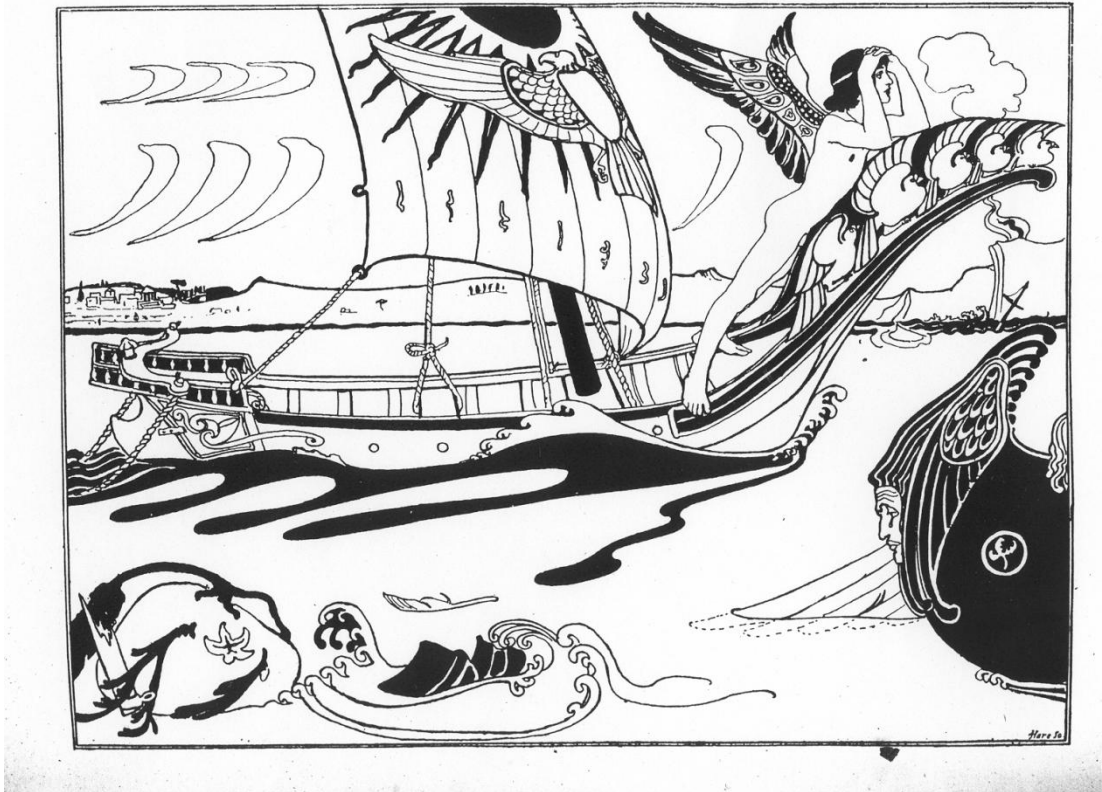


Figure 13, *Out-faring* by John Duncan, from *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895, image thanks to University of Dundee Archives.

Out-faring seems to have combined Celtic, Norse and Egyptian imagery, as John Duncan's notebooks at the National Library of Scotland show he was active in seeking out all kinds of art through careful firsthand research whenever possible.



Figure 14, *Natura Naturans* by Robert Burns, *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895, thanks to the University of Dundee Archives.

Burns quite clearly shows an influence of Art Nouveau in this piece, with its swirling sea and wind. That fact combined with the fact that it is a black and white print, and that it featured a nude female body, all caused the press to make comparisons to Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations in the *Yellow Book*.



Figure 15, *The Pipes of Arcady* by John Duncan, *The Evergreen*, Spring 1895, thanks to the University of Dundee Archives.

The Pipes of Arcady seems to be a transcription from Duncan's frieze of the history of bagpipes in Ramsay Garden. The image may have suffered somewhat in its evolution from mural to engraving to its printed version in *The Evergreen* and lost some of its original finesse, but this is only conjecture as the original is no longer available for comparison. Two other Duncan drawings in *The Evergreen*, *Apollo's School Days* (Spring) and *Bacchus and Silenus* (Autumn), seem to have come from the same frieze.

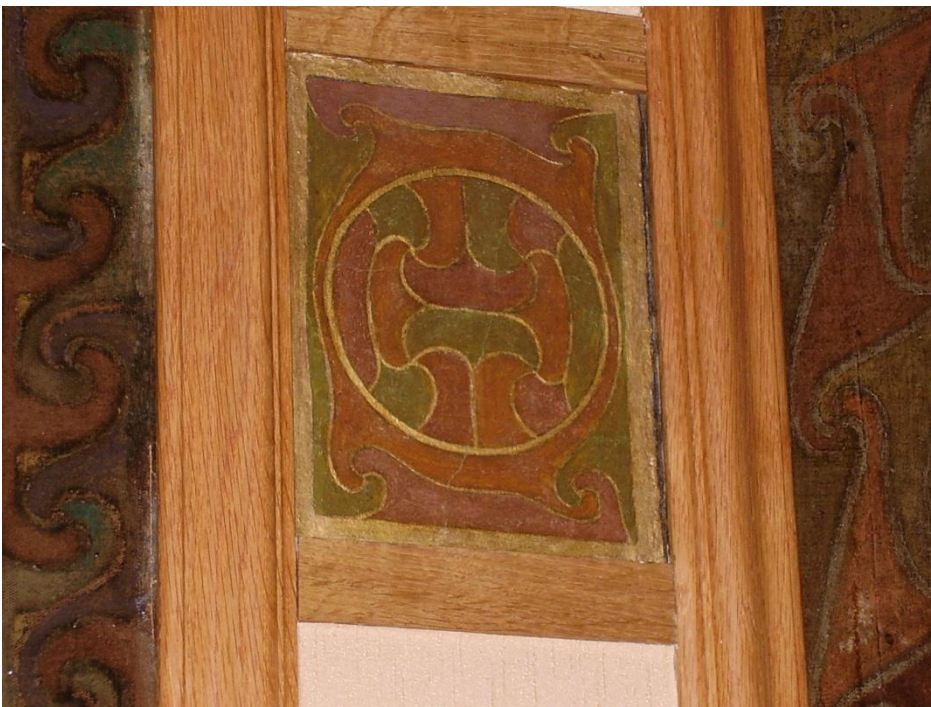


Figure 16, author's own photograph.

Ramsay Garden as viewed from National Gallery of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh. The visual impact of Ramsay Garden should not be underestimated.



Figures 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea. The Celtic designs which once connected the Common Room murals are hard to attribute, they may have been painted by John Duncan.



Figures 22 and 23, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden Common Room murals. These images shows more of the Celtic designs that once connected the Common Room murals and decorated the room.



Figure 24, author's own photograph with thanks to Michael Shea.

John Duncan's *The Combat of Fionn*, which illustrates a tale from the Ossianic saga.



Figure 25, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden, Common Room mural *The Taking of Excalibur* by John Duncan.



Figure 26, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden, Common Room mural *The Journey of St. Mungo* by John Duncan.



Figure 27, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden, Common Room, mural *The Admirable Crichton* by John Duncan. The Admirable Crichton was the epitome of what Geddes hope to teach his students; he was accomplished in the arts and sciences, an embodiment of Geddes's hope for decreased specialisation and increased generalism.



Figure 28 and 29, author's own photographs, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden, Common Room murals depicting Lord Lister and James Watt respectively. These murals were among the five painted by Duncan c.1926-7.



Figure 30, author's own photograph, with thanks to Michael Shea.

Ramsay Garden, Common Room mural of *Charles Darwin* by John Duncan. Geddes had studied evolution under Thomas Huxley. Science was always Geddes's first love, and it coloured the way he approached his projects, even the Celtic Renaissance.



Figures 31 and 32, author's own photograph, with thanks to Brian Ferguson.

Fingal's Cave on the Isle of Staffa. Staffa is only a short way away from Iona, and so it connected to the Celtic Renaissance through both its proximity to that beloved island as well as through *The Poems of Ossian*. Geologically and geographically Staffa also ties the Celtic Renaissance to the Irish Celtic Revival, as the Giant's Causeway in northern Ireland is made up of the same rock formation .



Figure 33 author's own photo, from the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

The Druids Bringing Home the Mistletoe (1890) by George Henry and E.A. Hornel. The Druids predates Geddes's Celtic Renaissance, showing that Celticism was an influence years before *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* was published.



Figure 34, author's own photograph.

This is one of a pair of dragons at the entrance to Wardrop's Court, possibly made by Geddes.

Geddes seems to like ornamental dragons as there are several throughout Ramsay Garden.